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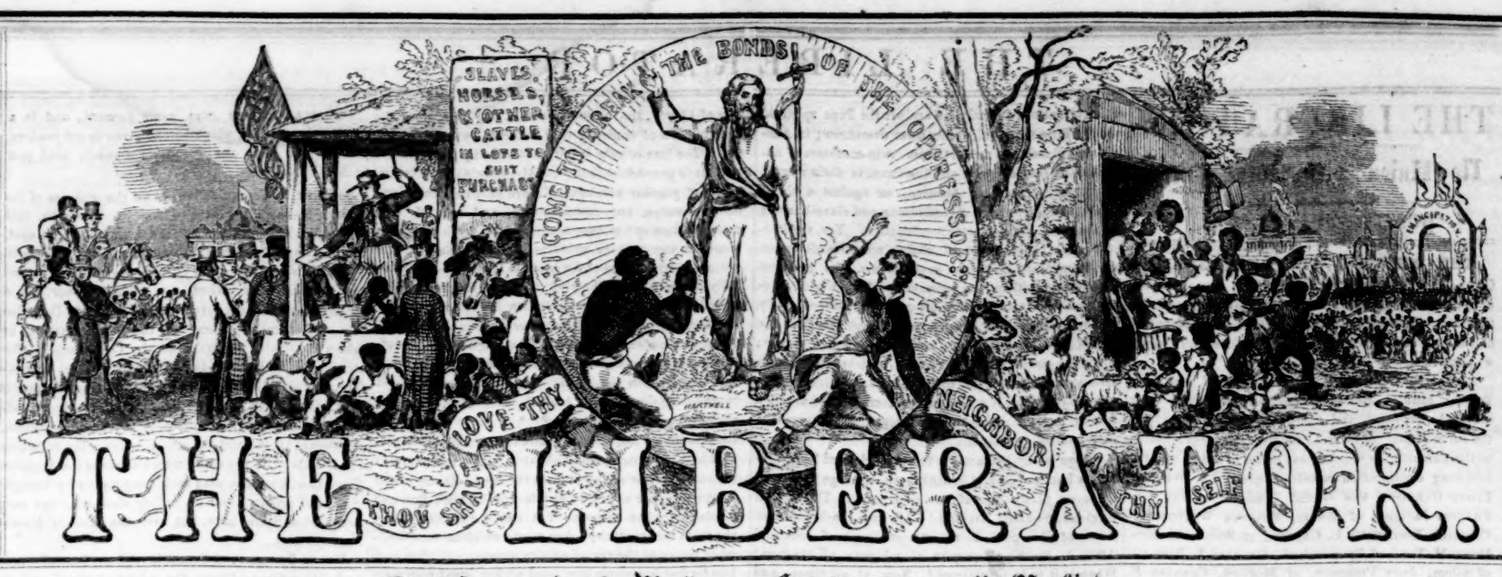
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'YES! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—AN engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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DEBATE IN CONGRESS,
ON THE
BOSTON PETITION.

U. S. SENATE, June 26, 1854.

The motion to refer the petition presented by Mr. Rockwell, from citizens of Boston, for a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, was taken up.

Mr. JONES, (whig) of Tenn., said that he had no design to call in question the motives of the Senator who had presented the petition. He had no fault to find with the exercise of the right of petition. It was the right of every citizen, and to which he would give every latitude. He would go so far as to say that he believed it was the right of his Satanic Majesty even to send up a petition to that Court which he had insulted, and from which he had been hurled. But it was by motives and objects that petitions were to be judged. So if, in sending up that petition, he was actuated by a purpose of mischief, or was hypocritical in his prayer, he deserved a deeper infamy than that to which he had already been consigned. If this petition now before the Senate be sent thither from proper motives and for proper purposes, it is entitled to all respect. If it be sent hither for the purpose of mischief and to produce strife, then it deserves the contempt of every good man. This was not the first petition of this character sent here; and had this come unattended with striking circumstances, giving it the color of treason, he would not have noticed it. But it came here with all the circumstances tending to show that it is part of the plan of operations of those with whom agitation and repeal are watchwords. He had seen already one attempt made to give practical effect to the prayer of this petition, and it had only found four Senators who would give the sanction of their names to its unholy purpose. It was said that these petitions were the result of the passage of the Nebraska bill and the repeal of the Missouri compromise. He did not believe it. It was the result of a combination of those willing to take part in any scheme to break down the constitution of the United States, and place the South under degradation and humiliation. It came from a city where the laws were openly set at defiance—where the temple of justice was surrounded by an armed mob to prevent the execution of constitutional duty—where treason stalked broadly through the streets at noonday, and where the officers of the law were butchered. The petition came from such a people and from such a place, following immediately upon these events. Was he not right in supposing this petition, got up at such a time, had in view no consideration of public interest? It came from Boston, where the dust of the first and the last martyrs in our country's cause, Warren and Batchelder, were now mingled together. He then called attention to an address, published in the *Intelligencer* of the 22d instant, said to have been adopted at a meeting of the members of Congress opposed to the Nebraska bill. The simultaneous appearance of this document with this petition might induce the belief that, like birds of omen and perturbed spirits, they desired companionship in publicity as well as in sentiment. The meeting which adopted this extraordinary address, was most irregular. It was secret, and no man save the three whose names were attached to the address had been bold enough to avow their connection with it. He would rejoice if they had the manliness to come forward, and let the country know who they were who had given sanction to this paper. It was to be expected they would do so, and that no man would be dastard enough to screen himself from responsibility by avoiding any publicity of his connection with the meeting. It was a most carefully prepared paper. It did not say the members of Congress opposed to the Nebraska bill, nor did it say a part of them, but it said a meeting composed of the members of Congress. Who were they? How many were they? The address was signed by three persons. It may be said that these were all who were there. He had known meetings heralded to the country as large and respectable, composed of a chairman and secretaries, and whose only claim to largeness consisted in the physical proportions of the chairman. So far as the chairman of this meeting was considered, it might be considered a large meeting. He could not believe that any one member from the South would give the sanction of his name to the statements contained in that address. He read the address and its arguments upon the encroachments by the Slave Power, by its acquisitions, and the designed extension of its area upon the adoption of the Missouri compromis, and the compromisee of 1850, and the repeal of the former, &c., &c., &c. He commented upon the same with great severity of language.—He said he was happy in the belief that not one Southern man attended that meeting. After reading the address, he suggested to its unknown author to abandon the field of political literature, and turn his thoughts to the richer field of the works of fiction. Its author bids fair to rival the writer of the Arabian Nights entertainments, Eugene Sue, Paul deKock, and many others who were so prolific in works of fiction. He had never seen a production which contained in so few words so much fiction and pure imagination as this address. The address charged the South with passing the Nebraska bill, with a covered design of making the Territories Slave States, with annexing half a dozen States of Mexico, and with planting slavery on the Amazon, with augmenting its powers by the acquisition of Cuba and Dominica, and in time reducing the North to abject submission. He called for the author of this accusation. It was a serious one, and which no gentleman should make behind the masked battery of a secret meeting. The author of it knew very well that, had every Southern Senator been in his grave, the Nebraska bill would have passed. It would have passed if no Southern Senator had voted for it. The whole charge was a falsehood. It was wickedly, maliciously false.—He could see no difference between the petition for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and the dissolution of he Union. There was no man that believed the Union could be preserved one day after the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. The South asked to do no wrong to the North. All it asked was to preserve the constitution and give us our equality of right. He had been a whig all his life. He was told now by the Northern wing of that party, that hereafter the test to be applied to all whigs was the repeal of the Nebraska act, repeal of guarantees and equality to all States given by the Constitution. If this was to be the test given of orthodoxy in the whig party, then he avowed himself a heretic, and suggested that against him now at once might be prepared the edict of excommunication. If to trample on the rights of any section or State was necessary to be a whig, he had to say to his former friends and associates, good bye. He would rather die than follow them in any such rule of action.

Mr. ROCKWELL said he regretted that the duty had fallen upon him to defend the State of which he was a representative. He regretted that his predecessor was not here to discharge that duty rather than himself. This memorial was signed by over twenty-one hundred of the men of Boston. Its signers were the bone and sinew of the active business men of that city. He saw nothing in their petition either extraordinary or wrong. They simply asked for the repeal of an act of Congress only four years old, which act was in addition to the one which had been in force over fifty years. Was there treason in this? Was it treason to ask Congress to repeal an act of its own making? It was said there were circumstances attending it which gave to it greater importance. It was signed by men who had acquiesced in the compromise measures of 1850, of which this act was one, but who were moved to ask for the repeal of this obnoxious law, because Congress had repealed a previous and long-standing compromise. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he begged to assure the gentleman, had created a depth of feeling in the free States entirely unprecedented, and which would continue for years to come. It was true that in Boston, under this law, recently, an arrest was made, that an affray or riot took place, and a homicide committed, but it should be remembered that the constitutional authorities of Massachusetts and Boston took that matter in hand, and disposed of it. Sudden tumults and affrays and violence had occurred in other plnces than in Boston. This petition was got up for no purpose of plotting bloodshed, riots or treason. It was not got up recently. Had its signers such objects in view, they would not have left their petition open to the public gaze at the Merchants' Exchange, exposed to examination of the friends and the opponents of its prayer. The feeling now existing at the North was such as never had been witnessed before. It was wide-spread and universal. It pervaded all professions and occupations of life. The action of Congress at this session had produced the feeling. Whole classes of men had been openly denounced in Congress for petitioning against the Missouri compromise. He would say to Senators, with all respect, that in denouncing the clergy for petitioning against that act, they had gone too far, for the clergy of New England spoke the sentiments of the whole people they lived among. Public sentiment was against this law, and the cry was for its repeal. He supposed there would always be found a party in Massachusetts ready and willing to execute it, but its execution was against the sentiments of the people. He would say to the Senator that the time had gone when any threat of a dissolution of the Union, consequent upon the action of the people of the free States upon any measure, would deter them from doing what they conceived to be right. Threats of disunion had ceased to be an argument with them, either for or against any measure. The North was devoted to the Union. They would adhere to it. They would go with it to whatsoever extent it was extended; but they did not believe that this Union would be dissolved. Disunion was an impossible thing. Why was it that Congress, while extending the Union in all directions, had neglected the great binding ligament of a railroad to the Pacific? He urged the construction of that great work, and said that he had no connection with the meeting which had adopted the address, though he fully agreed with the sentiments it uttered.

Mr. JONES asked the Senator to say how many of these signers, who were said to be the bone and sinew of Boston, had aided in executing the law, lately, in Boston. Was not a large number of them, with treason in their hearts and knives in hand, engaged in the recent mob to resist the Constitution and the laws?

Mr. ROCKWELL—I do not know that one was so engaged.

Mr. JONES asked if Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker, who had incited an ignorant and infatuated people to resist the law and the Constitution, which they had not courage or manliness enough to do in person, had they nothing to do with these riots, and these cries for repeal? As to the clergymen of New England, he had nothing to say. He never quarrelled with women or clergymen. He transferred the fight with them to the Senator from Massachusetts. But he asked the Senator if he believed the Union could last one day after the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law?

Mr. ROCKWELL—I have said already, that disunion was an impossible thing.

Mr. JONES—If the Senator supposes that the South will stand like cravens, and submit to have their property taken from them, in violation of the Constitution, he is much mistaken, and knows very little of their character. The Union, without the Constitution, would be worse than slavery. Sooner than submit to such degradation and humiliation, he would himself apply the torch to the temple of our Union, and perish in the ruins. If the Senator expected to see the Fugitive Slave Law repealed, or the Missouri Compromise restored, he might expect to enjoy a long life-time. Neither the one nor the other act would the Senator ever see.

Mr. BRODHEAD, (Dem.,) of Ga., said he did not know whether this quarrel between old friends ought to go on or to stop. For twenty-seven years, Tennessee and Massachusetts had been politically associated in all Presidential elections. Tennessee had refused to vote for Gen. Cass, who opposed the Wilmot proviso, and voted for Gen. Taylor, who refused to pledge himself against it, that he might secure Massachusetts. If this quarrel was to end in their parting company, it had better go on; if not, the Senate ought to take up other business.

Mr. SUMNER, of Mass., said that he would begin by answering the question whether the Union can exist after the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. If the Union could not exist without an act—law he could not call it—which outrages all the principles of humanity and right, as did the Fugitive Slave Law, then the Union ought not to exist. He would not follow the Senator from Tennessee, for, like a hero of antiquity, it could be said of that Senator, 'thrice had he slain his foes, and thrice he slew the slain.' He sincerely hoped the people of the North were not to be intimidated or cajoled into an abandonment of those great principles of freedom which they had so long been devoted to. He hoped there would be a backbone preserved to the North. He entirely agreed with his colleague as to the character of the memorialists. Among them were those who had acquiesced in the Compromise measures of 1850; there were there, also, those engaged in great mercantile interests. It was their great interest, which, in the history of England, twice checked the humane efforts of Wilberforce to break up the African slave trade. It was the same great interest which, from sordid motives, had, in the Constitution of the United States, kept, for twenty years, the same heaven-offending traffic from the judgment of the American people. He had spoken against the Fugitive Slave Law here and elsewhere. He was free to avow it. For so doing he would not throw himself upon the judgment of a Senate fresh from the passage of the Nebraska act, but would throw himself upon the judgment of his country and his God. He then read numerous extracts from his former speeches on this law, and avowed again the sentiments therein expressed. He referred to the sentiments expressed in Faneuil Hall by Otis, Adams and others, preceding the revolution, in which they held that resistance to slavery was obedience to God. A short distance from that sacred edifice, said he, and between it and the court-house where the disgusting rites of sacrificing a human being to slavery was lately performed, was the spot which was first moistened by American blood in resisting slavery, and among the first victims was a colored person. [Attucks.] Near Boston are Concord and Lexington, where that resistance was repeated, and it received its crowning glory at Bunker Hill. He then run a parallel between the resistance to the Stamp Act, in 1766, and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. He further contended that the former was a harmless measure when compared with the latter.

Mr. BUTLER, (Dem.) of S. C., said, that his idea on this question was, that there ought not to be any necessity for a Fugitive Slave Law. He would like to ask the Senator, (Mr. Sumner,) if Congress repealed the Fuitive Slave Law, would Massachusetts execute the Constitutional requirements, and send back to the South the absconding slaves?

Mr. SUMNER—Do you ask me if I would send back a slave?

Mr. BUTLER—Why, yes.

Mr. SUMNER—'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?'

Mr. BUTLER—There he is again, with a quotation already prepared. He gets up here and spouts it out, with, as he doubtless supposes, more than Demosthenean eloquence and beauty; but he is mistaken. What have dogs got to do with the Constitution? (Laughter.) The Senator declares that he would not execute the Constitution, which he has sworn to support. The Senator openly declares that it is a dog's duty to obey and execute the Constitution. The Senator has sworn to support it, and declares that to do so is a dog's duty.

Mr. SUMNER—I recognize no such obligations upon me.

Mr. BUTLER—Well, I suppose it makes but little difference what you consider obligatory upon you.

Mr. MASON, (Dem.) of Va., followed, defending the Fugitive Slave Law. He denied that it suspended the Habeas Corpus act, as asserted, either ignorantly or corruptly, by the Senator from Massachusetts. He said that it was Massachusetts and the other New England States which had forced into the Constitution the prohibition upon Congress repealing the slave trade at the expiration of twenty years. This was done, that in that time these States might do the carrying trade in that traffic.

Mr. PETTIT, (Dem.) of Indiana, said that he had lived to hear upon the floor of the Senate an avowal which he never expected to have heard anywhere, that a Senator, sworn to support the Constitution, owed no obligation to that instrument. He believed in the right of petition. He would vote to receive any that was respectful in its character, and to refer it. Should a petition come here from Massachusetts or elsewhere, asking the Senate to expel any Senator who should disavow any obligation to the Constitution, he would vote to receive and refer it, though he would not at present say how he would vote upon it finally. The Senator had sworn openly to support the Constitution in all its parts. He made no reservation. He could not take his seat if he had, and he ought not to hold his seat after making it. He again referred to that part of the Declaration of Independence which says that 'all men are created equal,' and held that if these words were used in the sense placed upon them by the abolitionists, they were a self-evident lie. He discussed this matter for half an hour. He denied that men were created equal, either physically, morally, politically, or mentally. He denied that the Senator who had sworn to support the Constitution, and who to-day spit upon that oath, was equal to his revolutionary ancestors.

Mr. SUMNER—Never, sir, never.

Mr. PETTIT—You denied that the Constitution had placed any obligation upon you, which you were bound by. Was such a Senator equal to Webster? The one had earned the title of the expounder of the Constitution—the other deserved that of the contemner and despiser of that instrument. If the Almighty intended to have created the Senator equal to Webster, then that great Power had committed a great blunder and failure. He did not think the searcher after an equality in morals could find any one more degraded than the Senator who, after having called God to witness his declaration to support the Constitution, had, with that declaration fresh in the minds of his fellow-senators, openly avowed that he recognized no obligation imposed by that sacred oath.

Mr. DIXON got the floor, and at half-past four o'clock, the Senate adjourned.

IN THE SENATE, June 28.

Mr. PETTIT said that on Monday, in debate, he had referred to Mr. Sumner's open disavowal of his obligation to the Constitution, and to his oath to support it, in no very complimentary terms. In the official report of that debate, that Senator was represented as having said as follows:—'I said I recognized no obligation in the Constitution to bind me to help reduce a man to slavery.' These words, said Mr. Pettit, were not used in the Senate. If the Senator had said them, they would have been false, and I would have noticed them.

Mr. SUMNER—I call the Senator to order. I say they were uttered by me here, in the Senate.

Mr. PETTIT—I will prove right in his teeth that what he says is false. [Cries of 'Order, order.'] I say he did not make use of the remark, here reported, on the floor, but after the adjournment, he went to the reporter, and had them interpolated into the report of my remarks. He then argued that the Senator never had the floor to make any such remark, and if it was made privately, and not heard by Senators, it ought not to go into the report. It was unfair in any Senator to interpolate remarks into reports which were not actually made. His speech now contained this remark, and no reply appeared to it from him. He made no reply to it, because the remark was never made. He discussed the right of Senators to revise their remarks. He said that when proof-sheets of his speech were handed to him, he saw this interpolation, and pronounced it false, and directed it to be left out. The foreman of the *Globe* office, however, had put it in. He read a letter from the reporter of the *Globe*, to the effect that this remark did not appear in the short-hand notes of Monday's debate, but that when Mr. Sumner called to revise his remarks, he had put the report in the shape it now appears. The Senator had said, in answer to a remark, that he would not execute the Constitution—that he recognized no such obligation. The Senator said that he would not return a fugitive slave, and asked, 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?' The man who first used that remark was a fitting person to quote. He proved himself a lying ingrate, a dog. He was a happy prototype of the Senator from Massachusetts in all his conduct. The interpolation by the Senator was false, because he could not have said it; and false, because he did not.

Mr. SUMNER—I repeat, that the remarks were made by me substantially as reported. I made them in my seat, and did not suppose they would have reached the reporter's ear. He then explained that the reporter voluntarily showed him the report, and finding it did not correspond exactly with what he had said, corrected it. As to all else which the Senator had said, he had not one word to reply.

The motion to refer the Boston petition for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law was then taken up.

Mr. DIXON spoke for an hour in defence of the Fugitive Slave Law, denouncing opposition to it. He also declared that the Whig party of the North had become abolitionized as a body, and renounced any political connection with them while they remained so. He referred to the platform of the Whig State Convention of New Hampshire, and said if the tests laid down in that body were adopted by Northern Whigs, he desired to be forever disconnected from them.

Mr. MALLORY defended the Fugitive Slave Law; and in the course of his remarks, referred to Mr. Sumner's disavowal of any obligation imposed by his oath to support the Constitution.

Mr. SUMNER—I call the Senator to order. I never said so.

Mr. MALLORY said he would not even put into a dog's mouth any statement which was not true; but he would be glad to know what the Senator did say.

Mr. SUMNER—I said I recognized no obligation upon me to help to return or reduce to slavery any man.

Mr. CLAY said he could not keep silent, and hear the Senator—with insolence of manner and unblushing face—day after day, after having unqualifiedly disavowed his constitutional obligations, attempt to throw the responsibility on the reporter. He then defended the reporter, whose character, he said, would compare favorably with Mr. Sumner's, among persons who knew both; but among strangers would, perhaps, be treated as inferior to the person who accidentally occupied a seat in the Senate. The Senator did make the remark imputed to him, and the Senators all around him corroborated the report. The qualification put on the declaration by the interpolation put in the report was an after-thought, and done to shirk and avoid the responsibility of appearing to the world as a man having desecrated the Senate-chamber with his presence, and the Holy Evangelists with his lips. If the Senator had not disavowed any obligation to the Constitution, would he have been charged with having done so by the two Senators sitting nearest him? He desired to suggest to Senators a means of remedying this conduct. Though there were no means of reaching a person guilty only of crime in thought, still, there was a mode of defending that body from such persons. Though a man be most talented, able and scholar-like—eloquent and profound—if he should show an intention to commit crime, or should instigate others to do that which he had not the courage to do himself, or should be as guilty of moral perjury as any man who had ever been branded with the letter P, or even should in all respects, be exemplified by the character given to Uriah Heap by Dickens, there was a way to treat him. Municipal action would not reach such a man. The Senate could treat him with disdain, could send him to Coventry, deny to him all those civilities and courtesies common among gentlemen, make him feel he is treated as a leper, and avoided as a venomous reptile. Thus far Senators had it in their power to do. If they have not power to impose punishments of law, they can take from the serpent his fangs, and place him in that social degradation he deserves.

MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH.

Mr. SUMNER said:—Since I had the honor of addressing the Senate on Monday, various Senators have spoken, and several have alluded to me in terms clearly beyond parliamentary debate. Of this I make no complaint, if to them it seems proper, courteous and parliamentary to unpack the heart with words, and fall to cursing like a very drab or scullion. I will not interfere with such enjoyment as they find in such exposure of themselves; they have certainly shown the character of two of them. The Senator from South Carolina, who sits immediately before me, and the Senator from Virginia, who sits immediately behind me, are not young; their heads are amply crowned by time; they do not speak from any ebullition of youth, but from the confirmed temper of age. It is melancholy to believe that they showed themselves as they are; it is charitable to believe they are, in reality, better than they showed themselves. I think, sir, I am not the only person on the floor, who, in listening to them in this debate—these two self-confident champions of the peculiar fanaticism of the South—was reminded of the striking words of Jefferson, picturing the influence of slavery. 'The whole commerce,' said he, 'between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism, on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate, for man is an imitative animal; the parent storms, the child sees the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus raised, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped with its odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances.' No person who has witnessed the Senator from South Carolina and the Senator from Virginia, in this debate, will think of placing them among the prodigies described by Jefferson. As they spoke, the Senate chamber must have seemed in their sight a plantation stocked with slaves, over which the lash of the overseers had free scope; there was little that fell from them which deserves reply, certainly not the hard words they used so readily.

The Senator from Virginia complained that I had characterized a person who went from Virginia to Boston in pursuit of a slave as a slave-hunter. Sir, I choose to call things by their right names. White I call white, black I call black. A man who degrades himself to the work of chasing a poor negro, who, under the inspiration of freedom, and the guidance of the North star, has sought a freeman's home, far away from the whip of the overseer, I call a slave-hunter; if the Senator will give any term which more precisely describes such a person, I will hear it.

It was said by one of the philosophers of antiquity, that the 'blush is a sign of virtue;' and permit me to add, that the sensibility which that Senator displays at a just term which truly characterizes an odious person, is kindred to a blush, which even the plantation manners of the Senator could not conceal. And the Senator from South Carolina also betrayed his sensibility; and here let me say, that this Senator knows well that I always listen with pleasure to his rich, exuberant speech, as it gurgles forth, so often tinctured by generous ideas, except when, in defiance of reason, he undertakes to defend that which is obviously indefensible.

The Senator was disturbed, when, to his inquiry whether I would render personal assistance in reducing or returning (I use the words as equivalent) a fellow-man to slavery, I exclaimed, 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?' The Senator asks, 'Is any dog in the Constitution?' He does not seem to think, by the interpretation he has given to the Constitution, he had helped to nurture there a regular South Carolina blood-hound, trained to hunt negroes. No, sir; I do not believe that there is any blood-hound, or even any dog, in the Constitution of the United States; but since the brief response which I made to the inquiry of the Senator has drawn upon me various attacks, marked by grossness of language and manner—since I have been charged with openly declaring my purpose to violate the Constitution, and to break the oath which I had taken at that desk, I shall be pardoned for showing simply how a few plain words will put all this down.

The authentic report in the *Globe* shows what I actually said, and where that is read, it renders any thing further superfluous; but the Senators who have been so swift in misrepresenting me deserve to be exposed.

Now, sir, I begin by adopting as my guide the authentic words of Andrew Jackson, in his memorable veto, in 1833, of the Bank of the United States. To his course was opposed the authority of the Supreme Court, and this is his reply:—'If the opinion of the Supreme Court covers the whole ground of this act, it ought not to control the co-ordinate authority of this government. The Congress, the Executive, and the Court, must, each for itself, be guided by its own opinion of the Constitution. Each public officer who takes an oath to support the Constitution, swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others.' It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, the Senate, and of the President, to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval, as it is of the Supreme judges, when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or Executive, when acting in their legislative capacities; but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve.'

Mark these words:—'Each public officer who takes an oath to support the Constitution, swears that he will support it as *he understands it*, and not as it is *understood by others*'! Does any Senator here dissent from this rule? Does the Senator from Virginia? Does the Senator from South Carolina? At all events, for myself, I accept the rule as just and reasonable. In swearing to support the Constitution at your desk, Mr. President, I did not swear to support it as you understood it, or as the Senator from South Carolina understood it, with a bloodhound, or at least a dog in it, pawing to get free his hinder parts in pursuit of a slave. No such thing. I swore to support the Constitution as I understood it. Now, I will not occupy your time, nor am I disposed at this moment, nor does the occasion require that I should go into any minute criticism of the clause for the surrender of fugitives from labor, assuming in the face of commanding rules of interpretation all leaning towards freedom, that in the concise language of this clause, altering in a double sense the words employed regarded as justly applicable to fugitive slaves, which was afterward earnestly denied, but on which I now express no opinion—assuming, I say, these things as hostile to freedom, then I desire to say, as I understand the Constitution, this clause does not impel me to any personal obligation, especially it does not impose upon me any obligation to render any personal assistance in the surrender of a fugitive slave. As a Senator, I have taken an oath to support the Constitution as I understand it, and understanding it as I do, I am bound by my oath to oppose all enactments by Congress on the subject as a flagrant violation of the Constitution; especially must I oppose the last as a tyrannical usurpation. Here my duties as Senator, under the oath I have taken, end; in no respect by my oath as Senator to be constrained to duties in other capacities, as a simple citizen, which are revolting to my conscience, even though required by positive enactment. Now, in the interpretation of the Constitution, I may be wrong. Others may differ from me, and will act according to their understanding; for myself, I shall act according to mine. On this statement of my constitutional faith, I stand; and to the inquiry whether I would render personal assistance in surrendering a fellow-man to bondage, I reply again, 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?'—and looking round upon the Senate, I might ask fearlessly how many there are in this body, if there is indeed a single Senator, who would stoop to such service. Until some one rises and confesses his willingness to become a slave-hunter, I will not believe that there can be one; and yet honorable and chivalrous persons have been prompt to judge me, because I openly declare my abhorrence of a service which every manly bosom must revolt at. 'Sir, I have found many brave soldiers and good citizens in Bayonne, but not one executioner,' was the noble reply of the Governor of that place to Charles the Ninth of France, when he ordered the massacre of Bartholomew; and such a spirit I think will yet animate the people of this country, when pressed to the service of dogs.

To the question which has been proposed, whether Massachusetts will, by State laws, carry out the offensive clause of the Constitution, I reply that Massachusetts has at all times been ready to do her duty under the Constitution, as she understands it, and I doubt not will ever continue in this mind. More than this I cannot say.

In quitting this topic, I cannot forbear to remark, that the assaults on me for my disclaimer of all constitutional obligations to render personal assistance in making a man a slave, come with an ill grace from the Senator from Virginia, a State for which, by its far-famed resolutions of 1798, is due to determine its constitutional obligation, even as to the extent of nullification in Congress. Also with an ill grace from the veteran Senator from South Carolina, a State which at a later day arrayed itself openly against the federal authorities, and which threatened nullification as often as babies cry.

He then dwelt upon the rifling of the mails in South Carolina, and the letter of Postmaster Kendall in reply to the threat. O, sir! this is a particular incident in the history of South Carolina, which should make the Senator from that State hesitate.

It is not many years since Massachusetts commissioned a gentleman of blameless life, and eminent professional qualities, and who had once held a seat in the other House, Samuel Hoar, to reside in Charleston for a year, in order to protect the rights of the colored citizens of Massachusetts, to test the constitutionality of a statute of that State, so gross in its provisions, that an eminent character of South Carolina, a Judge of the Supreme Court, had characterized it as trampling upon the Constitution, and a direct attack upon the sovereignty of the United States; but this agent of Massachusetts, an unarmed old man, was prevented from performing his duty, driven from the State by a respectable mob, and the Legislature subsequently sanctioned this lawless act by placing on the Statute books an order for his expulsion; and yet the Senator from South Carolina holds up his hands in holy horror at the imagined delinquencies of Massachusetts towards the slave hunters, and also at my own refusal to render any aid. Before the Senator undertakes to lecture Massachusetts or myself, let him return to his own State, and first declaim there. The Senator from South Carolina, in a sublime ecstacy of slavery, burst forth in an ejaculation that Massachusetts, at the time she was illustrated by Otis, Hancock and Adams, was a slaveholding State, and he hailed these patriots as representatives of slaveholding Massachusetts. Sir, I repel the imputation. It is true that Massachusetts was hardy, but she was not in any just sense slaveholding—a few slaves were still found within her borders, but as early as 1760 one of her Courts actually anticipating the decision in the Somerset case, established within its jurisdiction the principle of freedom. Similar decisions followed in other places during the Revolution, and at last under the influence of the bill of rights of the new Constitution in 1780, declaring that all men are born free and equal, slavery ceased. Thus the Senator errs when he speaks of Massachusetts. He errs still more when he puts forth the declaration that the independence of America to maintain Republican liberty was won by the arms and treasure, by the patriotism and good faith of slaveholding communities. Mark the expression. Sir, the Senator, fresh from the Nebraska bill, can speak of the good faith of the slaveholding communities only in irony. Let me add that when he says that American independence was won by the arms and because of slaveholding communities, he spoke either in irony or ignorance. He then went into an elaborate exposition of the contributions of the Southern States to the War of Independence, particularly of South Carolina, and then said, I had almost forgotten to turn again to the Senator from Virginia. He has undertaken in a most imperious style, rather let me say the style of Sir Forcible Feeble, to call in question my statement that the Fugitive Slave Act denied the *habeas corpus*. And in doing this, he assumed for himself a superiority, which nothing in him can sanction. Sir, I claim little for myself, but I shrink in no respect from any comparison with that Senator.—Sitting near him, as has been my fortune since I have been in this body, I have learned something of his conversation, something of his manners, something of his attachments, something of his abilities, and something of his character; and while I would not undertake to disparage him in any of these respects, yet, I feel that I do not exalt myself immensely, when I openly challenge a comparison with that Senator. To his statement on the subject, I oppose mine.

He then evolved other objections to the Fugitive Slave Act, which he commended to the Senator from whose brain the soulless monster came. He then said, (looking at Mr. Clay,) but I must close.

To many things said in this debate, intended to de personal and offensive, I make no reply. There are some things best answered by silence—best answered by withholding the word which leaps impulsively to the lips; but I leave these things, and as I close, I dwell for one moment on the agreeable aspect of this discussion. On former occasions like this, the right of petition has been vehemently assailed or practically denied. Only two years ago, memorials for the repeal of the Slave Act, presented by me, were laid on the table without reference to any committee. All is changed now; Senators have condemned the memorial, and cried treason; but thus far, in this excited debate, no person has so far outraged the spirit of our institutions, or forgotten himself, as to object to the reception of the memorial, and its proper reference. It is true, the remonstrants have been treated with indignity, but the great right of petition, the sword and buckler of the citizen, though disgraced by such indignity, has not been denied. Here, sir, is a triumph of freedom.

Mr. CLAY said, the Senator had asked whether any Senator would render assistance in returning a fugitive slave to his owner, and as no one had responded, and lest the Senator might herald it forth to the world that no one Senator had the moral courage to say he would, he (Clay) had to say he would do so.

Mr. SUMNER—The Senator might say immoral courage.

Mr. BUTLER said that if any person expected of him excited language in reply to the Senator, he would be greatly mistaken. The Senator had, by aid of his confreres, been hunting up old musty records and scraps of history, for the purpose of assailing South Carolina. He would not be expected, at this moment, to go into the matter, or be prepared to retort upon Massachusetts.

Mr. BADGER—Will the Senator give way for an adjournment? He can go on to-morrow.

Mr. BUTLER—No, sir; I will not dive into the bowels of history to assail Massachusetts. I will never be the vampire. He then defended South Carolina. The Senator had flatly denied that the independence of the country was achieved by the slaveholding States. All the States of the confederacy, at the time of the Declaration of Independence, were slaveholding States. Massachusetts was a slaveholding State. If the people did not buy slaves, they sold them; they carried on the traffic in slaves. Otis, Hancock and the Adamses were the Representatives of slaveholding Massachusetts. Was not Massachusetts a slaveholding State?

Mr. SUMNER—Not in any just sense.

Mr. BUTLER said the Senator always assumed facts to suit the issues presented, and which he argued. It was now assumed that Massachusetts at that time was not a slave State in any sense, because it suited the argument of the Senator; but history proved the contrary. Connecticut was a slave State, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware were slave States. Was not New York a slave State?

Mr. SUMNER—The Senator from New York can answer.

Mr. BUTLER—The Senator from New York would doubtless answer truly—that would not suit the Senator.

Mr. SEWARD—It is due to candor to state, that at the time of the Revolution, every twelfth man in New York was a slaveholder.

Mr. BUTLER—In saying that the Independence

was gained by slaveholders, he did not mean the Carolinas alone. In addition to those he had named were Maryland and Virginia. These all were slaveholding States, and could the Senator look him in the face and deny it!

Mr. SUMNER said that, in speaking of slaveholding States, they did not include those where slavery existed more by accident then as part of the settled system of civilization of the State. It was understood to mean only States where slavery was essentially an institution of the State.

Mr. BUTLER said this was another of these assumptions of fact to meet the issue presented by the Senator himself, and on which he sent out to the country his rhetorical and eloquent declamation. The fact, however, that the States at the time of the Revolution were slaveholding communities, was so palpable that it was useless to argue it further. The statement of the Senator was rhetorically false. He denied having at any time assailed Boston or Massachusetts. He always abstained from making any comparison between different States or sections. Boston and Massachusetts have vindicated themselves, and executed the Constitution in spite of the misrepresenting advocate. He replied to Mr. Sumner's remarks about Mr. Hoar's case, and referred to a pathetic appeal, made by a Boston captain. Because two negro seamen were imprisoned in Charleston, the captain abandoned his comrades, returned to Boston, and wrote a most affecting essay upon the sufferings of his companions; and yet, upon payment of two dollars, he could have had them released, but he would not sympathise with them so far as paying that amount.

The question as to what Mr. Sumner did say on Monday as to his recognition of the authority of the Constitution, was then commenced upon.

Messrs. Fessenden, Rusk, Clay, and Gillett, all gave their recollection of what took place.

The reports in the *Globe* and the New York papers were read over and over again.

Mr. SUMNER said he understood the question was put to him, whether he would personally assist in the arrest or return of a slave?—and to that he had answered that he recognized no such obligations imposed on him by the Constitution.

Mr. PETTIT again addressed the Senate upon the subject of what Mr. Sumner actually said on Monday.

Mr. TOUCEY said he would be unwilling at any time to hold any man responsible for a hasty word, but he desired the Senator from Massachusetts would now state whether *he* recognized any obligation imposed by the Constitution to return a fugitive slave!

Mr. SUMNER—To which question I answer emphatically—No!

Mr. CLAY—I hope there will be no doubt as to what the Senator says now.

The motion to refer was agreed to, and at nearly 5 o'clock, the Senate adjourned.

MR. SUMNER.

'Is thy servant a dog!' This reply, which no other thought or words could equal in trenchant sarcasm and classical brevity, brought down upon him yesterday a storm of invective from the Southern faction of the Senate. To this general attack, Mr. Sumner answered in a speech of which we give an abstract. The speech is worthy of the inspired text which was the occasion of it. Even in the abridged form in which we give it, it is a comprehensive, crushing exposition of constitutional truth, as eloquent in temper and expression as it is sound in doctrine. We feel quite sure that any honest Northern man, who may as yet waver as to the degree of respect due to the Act which couples him with bloodhounds to hunt down humanity, will no longer have a doubt of his duty, legal as well as moral, when he shall read the speech of Mr. Sumner on the subject.—*Philadelphia Register.*

☞ Mr. Sumner's speech in reply to the personalities of Messrs. Mason, Butler, and others of his calumniating opponents, will justly receive the attention of the whole public. It is a masterly and powerful vindication, marked at once by extreme severity and perfect courtesy and dignity of manner. A more effective parliamentary rebuke of more unworthy assaults we do not remember.—*New York Tribune.*

WHAT HAS BECOME OF BURNS?

Anti-Slavery people will be anxious to hear of Anthony, and we are therefore glad to find in the *Traveller* a letter from a citizen of Boston, now in Norfolk, Va., the accuracy of whose statements is vouched for by the editor of that paper.

The cutter Morris arrived in Hampton Roads about noon on the 10th, with Burns on board. He was taken before the Mayor, who committed him to JAIL for safe-keeping. We were told by tell-lie-graph that Burns was rejoiced to get back. If so, we cannot exactly see why he should be sent to *jail*, unless it was to keep him from *running further South.* The writer's narrative proceeds:—

Yesterday, a gentleman of this city called on me, and when alluding to the case of Burns, inquired if I would like to see him. On my answering in the affirmative, he said he would walk over to the jail, and as he was well-acquainted with the jailer, he presumed we might be admitted to his cell. I was introduced as a 'Boston merchant,' and was politely conducted to the private apartment of the fugitive, where in the presence of four other gentlemen, I conversed with him for half an hour relative to his early history, his escape, his trial at Boston, and his return.

His history is too familiar to your readers to require additional statements. He said he joined a Baptist Church about seven years ago, and has felt it his duty since, as opportunities have occurred, to exhort in their meetings, and try to lead his fellow-servants to a knowledge of the Redeemer. His master, he told me, was not a member of any church.

He can read and write, and is quite intelligent for one of such limited education. He has a nobleness of carriage and truthfulness of manner, indicative of a mind of more than ordinary capacity.

Although he conversed with an air of cheerfulness, and even of humor, it was easy to discover that *a dark foreboding for the future was preying upon his mind.*

When allusion was made to his accommodations in the Boston Court House, his good fare, and his smoking cigars with the officers, he said laughingly, that 'he needed the cigar to keep his spirits up:' and when asked if he wanted to go back to Boston, he said, 'he should like just to let them see that he was alive yet.'

To the question what he thought his master would now do with him, he said that 'he expected to be sold, and made a lion of.' When asked if he would like to go back, and live with Col. Suttle, he hesitated and replied, 'not without he could be treated just as if he had not been away.' He was sensible that he had lost caste, where he had always lived, and knew not how to hold up his head again there; *and yet greatly dreaded the alternative of being sold to the South.* Poor fellow! He reminded me of Christian, in the Pilgrim's Progress, when he met Apollyon, and had neither the power to flee, nor the heart to go forward to the encounter.

RESIGNATION OF GERRIT SMITH.

'WASHINGTON, June 27, 1854.

To my Constituents:—My nomination to Congress alarmed me greatly, because I believed that it would result in my election. To separate myself from my large private business, for so long a time, and to war against the strong habits formed in my deeply secluded life, seemed well-nigh impossible.

My election having taken place, I concluded that I must serve you, during the first session of my term. Not to speak of other reasons for such service, there was, at least, so much due to you, in requital for your generous forgetfulness of party obligations, in electing me. I could not do less, and yet, make a decent return for the respect and partiality you had shown me.

I did not, until within a few weeks, fully decide not to return to Congress at the next session. I could not know but that something unforeseen might demand such return. I now feel at liberty to announce my purpose to resign my seat in Congress at the close of the present session. Why I make the announciation so early is, that you may have ample time to look around for my successor.

I resign my seat the more freely, because I do not thereby impose any tax upon your time. You will fill the vacancy at the general election. Indeed, I should have been entirely unwilling to put you to the pains of holding a special election.

GERRIT SMITH.'

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JULY 7, 1854.

THE MEETING AT FRAMINGHAM.

On the Fourth of July, (Tuesday last,) was of almost unprecedented numbers, and great unanimity and enthusiasm. The only drawback on the entire enjoyment of the day arose from the heat of the weather, which was extreme.

As soon as the several trains of railroad cars from Boston, Milford and Worcester had set down their crowded companies, and the numerous carriages from the surrounding towns had brought their large addition to the number, the meeting was called to order, and the following organization speedily agreed to. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON was elected President of the day. FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston, WILLIAM WHITING, of Concord, EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, of Worcester, Mrs. DORA M. TAFT, of Framingham, CHARLES L. REMOND, of Salem, JOHN PIERPONT, of Medford, CHARLES F. HOVEY, of Gloucester, JONATHAN BUFFUM, of Lynn, ASA CUTLER, of Connecticut, and ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire, were chosen Vice Presidents. For Secretaries, Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester, Wm. H. Fish, of Milford, and R. F. Wallcut, of Boston, were chosen.

Abby Kelley Foster, Ebenezer D. Draper, Lewis Ford, Mrs. Olds, (of Ohio,) Lucy Stone, and Nathaniel B. Spooner, were chosen the Finance Committee.

The platform had upon it several mottoes, 'Virginia,' decorated with the ribbons and insignia of triumph, and 'Redeem Massachusetts' hung with the crape of servitude, while above them were two white flags bordered with black, bearing the names of 'Nebraska' and 'Kansas.' The American flag hung above the platform, Union down, draped in black.

Mr. Garrison read appropriate passages of Scripture, and an anti-slavery hymn was sung by the whole assembly. Then Dr. Henry O. Stone, in a brief and appropriate speech, welcomed those present to the town, to that beautiful grove, and to the duties and high privileges of the cause they had espoused. He alluded to the mottoes and insignia on the platform, representing Massachusetts as chained to Virginia by links of cotton, and crouching under the slave whip of the latter; and concluded by inviting all discontented with the present position of affairs to stand on the anti-slavery platform.

The President of the day (Mr. Garrison) then addressed the vast assembly as follows:—

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM AND HUMANITY:

The history of mankind is a record of the saddest mistakes, the wildest aberrations, the most melancholy inconsistencies, the bloodiest crimes,—mingled with much that is beautiful and good, honorable and just, wise and progressive. Whatever may be the inherent faculties and powers, the future elevation and development, the absolute or possible destiny of our race, whether in the lapse of ages here on earth, or in the sublime career of an immortal existence, (and to these no limit may be set, short of infinity itself,) still, a retrospect of the past, and an intelligent view of the present condition of the world demonstrate the universal prevalence of ignorance, superstition, misrule and oppression. I will not stop to inquire whether the scriptural and theological account of the origin of man is worthy of literal credence—that he was created pure and perfect by his Maker, but in an evil hour, yielding to temptation, fell into the abyss of total depravity, involving his posterity in one common ruin; or whether, instead of being 'made a little lower than the angels,' he was made, (according to certain philosophical and scientific deductions) a little higher than the brute, but with a nature susceptible of the largest growth, and has been slowly but steadily advancing in knowledge and virtue. Enough that, from the earliest period assigned to the appearance of man upon earth, to the present hour, he has been groping in the dark, ignorant of his nature, careless of his destiny, at war with his brother, and distrustful of his God. Enough that, six thousand years after the scriptural creation, and eighteen hundred years after the advent of Christ, of the thousand millions of people occupying our globe, a vast majority are ground down to the dust; without education or moral culture, destitute of necessary food, clothing and shelter; victimized to institutions, hierarchies, governments, autocracies; ruled by rods of iron in the hands of tyrants and usurpers; low in intellect, lower yet in morals; religiously besotted and deceived; incapable of recognizing among themselves a common brotherhood; divided and subdivided into numberless hostile races, tribes, sects, parties and clans, glorifying God neither in their bodies nor spirits, which are his. Enough that no country is happy, no people are free; that no absolute, unchangeable, just and loving God is accepted or comprehended; that every established form of religion is not only hollow and worthless, but inimical to progress and reform; that every existing government is essentially despotic in principle, hostile to freedom of thought and speech, proscriptive of conscience, reckless of the general welfare; that, as yet, the condition of a true, manly life is persecution, ostracism, martyrdom, in some form or other, so that 'he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey.'

This only shows how much remains to be done for mankind,—not that we ought to despair; what scope there is for individual heroism, self-sacrifice, benevolent activity and effort,—not that there is no hope.

To-day, we are called to celebrate the seventy-eighth anniversary of American Independence. In what spirit? with what purpose? to what end? Confining our attention exclusively to the fact, that, on the 4th of July, 1776, it was boldly declared to the world by our revolutionary sires, as 'self-evident truths, that all men are created equal—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'—we have abundant reason for exultation, gratitude, thanksgiving. This was the greatest political event in the annals of time. It was the abolition of all caste, the suppression of all aristocracy, the extinction of all despotism, the full and complete inauguration of individual sovereignty as paramount to whatever in law or in government is detrimental to life or liberty. It was not a declaration of equality of property, bodily strength or beauty, intellectual or moral development, industrial or inventive powers, but equality of RIGHTS—not of one race, but of all races. In it was included every human being—the most benighted as well as the most enlightened, the most degraded as well as the most elevated, the most helpless as well as the most powerful. As the atmosphere was made for the lungs of all, the light of the sun for the eyes of all, the firm-set earth for the abode of all, so these rights were given to all, alike sacred and inalienable. They constitute the charter and shield, the crown and glory of human existence, divested of which, it is folly to talk of human obligations and duties—of immortality and eternal life.

The conservatives of our times, who, to-day, are making the most ostentatious demonstrations of their veneration for the Declaration for 1776, are filled with distress and horror at the thought of 'radicalism,' either in Church or State. Blind, selfish, besotted idolators of the past! If that Declaration is worthy of your homage, then you are committed in principle to the most radical political instrument in the world; by which outlawry is pronounced against every oppressive government, and therefore against every existing government on the face of the earth, for they are all oppressive. In its denunciation of injustice and tyranny, in its vindication of human equality and freedom, that Declaration is not American, but universal—not geographical, but world-wide. To that extent it is to be maintained in England, as against the throne and an hereditary aristocracy, and to the subversion of both; in France, as against its perfidious Emperor, and to the establishment of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' in their broadest signification; in Italy, as against the Pope spiritual and the Pope temporal, to his utter overthrow; in Austria and Russia, as against those twin-monsters of absolutism, Francis Joseph and the Czar, to their eternal dethronement; and in America, as against a blood-cemented Union and a slave-holding and slave-hunting government, to their utter annihilation. Yes, the Declaration of 1776 severs all chains, subverts all dynasties, abrogates all unjust governments. Its practical enforcement will be the redemption of the world. Every man who accepts it as his creed is pledged, as by a solemn oath to God, to oppose whatever stands in the way of its accomplishment, whether at home or abroad; and if he prove false to it in the trial-hour, he is an apostate and traitor of the first rank. Judged by it, every slaveholder is a kidnapper; every slave-hunter, a monster; every defender or apologist of slavery, the enemy of all mankind.

Where is our Declaration to be proclaimed? Wherever a human being is groaning in bondage! On all the gory plantations of our own land! Throughout England, Scotland, Ireland! All over the broad continent of Europe! To the utmost verge of Asia and Africa! Among all peoples, all religions, all tongues! When is it to be proclaimed? Now, at all times, and ever uncompromisingly! Talk not of the unfitness of any people, or of any country, to be free! If despotism has made them unfit for freedom, then freedom will make them unfit for despotism; therefore give them freedom. All mankind are prepared for justice, all desire to be free. Shall tyrants talk of educating their victims to the point of subverting their own reign, or of a bloody rebellion against it? Are they the friends or the enemies of the people? Shall slaveholders and slave-breeders determine the fitness of their slaves for liberty?

But where can our Declaration be proclaimed, and faithfully applied to men and governments, without subjecting the enforcer of it to ridicule, odium, persecution, imprisonment, martyrdom, or lynch law? Begin at home. How many really believe in its truthfulness and rationality here at the North? How many are prepared to denounce the hideous crime of slaveholding as a sin against God? How many are avowed abolitionists? And what is an abolitionist but a sincere believer in the Declaration of '76? How many are at a loss to discover reasons, and frame excuses, and multiply defences, for the conduct of the slaveholders, against its impeachment by the friends of the slave? What has been the history of the anti-slavery struggle at the North for the last twenty-five years, but a history of the personal defamation and ostracism of its advocates, religiously, politically, socially? Have they not been ranked amongst the vilest of the vile, the most dangerous members of the community, heretics and infidels of the most malignant type, filled with the spirit of sedition and all unrighteousness? Have they not been 'in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labors, in watchings, in fastings—as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold they live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things'? What has been their treatment at the hands of the Northern church? Excision, ejectment, malignant persecution, utter condemnation. How have they been characterised by the Northern clergy? As disorganizers, schismatics, intent on perverting the word of God and subverting the church of Christ. In what manner have they been described by the Northern press? As those who ought to receive no toleration, anarchists, traitors, and the like! All this at the North, even to this day.

At the South, who can safely avow his belief in the inalienable rights of man, irrespective of complexional caste? What man dare openly tell the slave that he has a God-given right to his freedom at any moment? What of the Southern church? 'A cage of unclean birds, and the synagogue of Satan.' What of the Southern clergy? Vindicating slavery as a divine institution, and branding abolitionism as of the devil. What of the Southern press? Infernal in its spirit and language toward all such as avow their hostility to slavery, and eager to hand them over to the tender mercies of the mob.

The result is, that, whether at the North or the South, a straight-forward, manly, inflexible adherence to the Declaration of Independence is attended with great personal discomfort, loss of social position, political proscription, and religious excommunication; to which is superadded at the South, the infliction of lynch law, either by compelling the friend of impartial liberty to seek safety in flight, or subjecting him to a coat of tar and feathers, or thrusting him into prison, or hanging him summarily by the neck, or shooting him with a revolver.

I know not to what extent freedom of speech may be indulged in England against the government, but I know that no radical opponent of that government can hope to maintain a good repution, or to thrive in business, or to reach political eminence, or to sustain a Christian character, or to escape governmental persecution, if he be faithful to his convictions, efficient in his actions, and indomitable in his purposes. I know that even a limited monarchy is maintained at the expense of human rights, and is more than humanity can bear. I know that an hereditary aristocracy is next to 'the king's evil,' preposterous in its pretensions, corrupting in its influences, extortionate in its claims, and anti-republican in spirit and by position. I know that the union of Church and State—an established religion—is what no people can tolerate, and be free; is the clearest evidence of a want of religious vitality; is a fraud upon the understanding and an insult to the moral sense of mankind; is the most impious of shams, and the most criminal of alliances. Success, then, to revolution in the United States; success to it in England; success to it in all lands; effected for the good of all, by modes and methods conformable to justice and humanity, by such weapons as tyrants never yet wielded!

What the freedom of continental Europe is, I need not depict at length. It is the freedom of a perfidious and high-handed usurpation, in the person of Louis Napoleon; the freedom of a soul-withering superstition, in the person of Pope Pius Ninth; the freedom of a bloody despotism, in the person of Francis Joseph; the freedom of an iron autocracy, in the person of the Czar. No people are visible. I do not see a man, erect and indomitable, from the Seine to the Black Sea, from Paris to Constantinople. I see tyrants who rule, and the masses who submit. Not a free school, independent of the government, exists. Every press is in chains. Free speech is a luxury in which none dare to indulge. The bayonet is the symbol of order, and governmental spies constitute the only popular audience. There may be a volcano beneath the surface, silently at work, and ere long destined to burst forth with terrific force; but, at present, the reign of tyranny is as absolute as fate, and the extinction of the people complete. This tells the story of American influence upon the liberties of the world. We have proved recreant to our own faith, false to our own standard, treacherous to the trust committed to our hands; so that, instead of helping to extend the blessings of freedom, we have mightily served the cause of tyranny throughout the world. Our flag is red with the blood of our slaves, and marked by their stripes. The bondage which can obtain no foothold on European soil, is our 'peculiar institution,' and its extension and perpetuity are the only subjects of governmental solicitude.

Since the war of the Revolution was declared, we have grown in population from three millions to twenty-five millions. This is an unparalleled growth. But a Republic is not made by a teeming population, else Russia and China might claim to be Republics. Our territorial lines reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But extent of territory is not the true criterion of national attainment. The land is filled with material prosperity: we are better fed, better clad, better sheltered, than any other people. But great riches and general prosperity may exist with little virtue and small love of liberty, the circumstances being adventitious, and the time of suffering only deferred, not transcended. The love of gain is our most striking characteristic. It is proverbial that 'the almighty dollar' is the object of popular worship. We are proud of our ships, our commerce, our manufactures, and talk of 'our manifest destiny' to annex, conquer or crush whatever stands in our way to universal empire. But to this nation, the language of the prophet is strictly and fearfully applicable:—'The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou whose habitation is high; that saith in thine heart, Who shall bring me down to the ground? Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord. For thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever. * * * Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubim were her helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets; and they cast lots for her honorable men, and all her great men were bound in chains.'

'What constitutes a State?
Not high-raised battlement or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate:
Nor cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned.
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starred and spangled courts,
Where low-bred baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No: MEN, high-minded MEN,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued
In forest, brake or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
MEN who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain,
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:
These constitute a State.'

Alas! our greed is insatiable, our rapacity boundless, our disregard of justice profligate to the last degree. We have degenerated in regard to our reverence for the higher law of God, for what is morally obligatory, for the cause of liberty. Theoretically, the government is of the people, and for their good, but in fact, it is in the hands of party demagogues, who cajole and flatter, entreat and threaten, lie and deceive, and who are themselves the tools and vassals of the Slave Power, ready to do its bidding, no matter what the crime or the peril may be. The forms of a republic are yet left to us, but corruption is general, and mal-administration the order of the day. Constitutional restraints are as cobwebs; the representatives are the betrayers of the people; the most high-handed acts of usurpation are submitted to with slavish servility; the revenues of the government are turned against popular liberty, and wielded to one end—the security of slave property and the acquisition of slave territory. The condition required of every man holding office under the government is a ready acquiescence in whatever the Slave Power may dictate. He must consent to have every feeling of humanity, every sentiment of justice, 'crushed out' of his heart, or for him there is neither place nor profit. The sentiments of Washington, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, adverse to slavery, are now branded as the wildest fallacies, and punished as the most dangerous heresies. On the floor of the American Senate, the Declaration of Independence has been scouted as a tissue of lies and absurdities!!! A proposition has also been presented to that body, to recall from the African coast our naval force, located there to suppress the piratical slave traffic, and as preliminary to the opening of that traffic as a part of the legitimate commerce of the United States! The boldest and most astounding plans are openly avowed for the unlimited annexation of foreign territory for slaveholding purposes. Cuba, Hayti, Mexico, South America, Brazil, the Sandwich Islands, &c. &c., all are designed for ultimate absorption by the Slave Power, which scorns the moral sentiment of the world, and defies the retribution of Heaven.

Such is our condition, such are our prospects, as a people, on the 4th of July, 1854!

Mr. Garrison said he should now proceed to perform an action which would be the testimony of his own soul to all present, of the estimation in which he held the pro-slavery laws and deeds of the nation. Producing a copy of the *Fugitive Slave Law*, he set fire to it, and it burnt to ashes. Using an old and well-known phrase, he said, 'And let all the people say, *Amen;*' and a unanimous cheer and shout of 'Amen' burst from the vast audience. In like manner, Mr. Garrison burned the decision of Edward G. Loring in the case of Anthony Burns, and the late charge of Judge Benjamin R. Curtis to the United States Grand Jury in reference to the 'treasonable' assault upon the Court House for the rescue of the fugitive — the multitude ratifying the fiery immolation with shouts of applause. Then holding up the U. S. Constitution, he branded it as the source and parent of all the other atrocities,—'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell,'—and consumed it to ashes on the spot, exclaiming, 'So perish all compromises with tyranny!' 'And let all the people say, Amen!' A tremendous shout of 'Amen!' went up to heaven in ratification of the deed, mingled with a few hisses and wrathful exclamations from some who were evidently in a rowdyish state of mind, but who were at once cowed by the popular feeling.

CHARLES L. REMOND, in an eloquent outburst of feeling, defended Mr. Garrison's act, in burning the United States Constitution, declaring that he did so in the name of three million slaves, with whom he was identified by complexion. Mr. R. was loudly and almost unanimously applauded.

JOHN C. CLUER administered a scorching and well-merited rebuke of the rowdyish spirit manifested by a few individuals, taking for his text the treatment he had recently received in Boston, he having been thrown into jail as a participator in the attempted rescue of Burns. He gave any thing but a favorable representation of Mayor Smith and some of the police officers; and concluded with pledging himself anew, and in the strongest manner, to the cause of liberty,—to the anti-slavery cause. His remarks elicited frequent bursts of applause, and were highly effective.

After singing another hymn, the company separated for an hour for refreshment and social recreation, at the expiration of which time they re-assembled, in larger numbers than in the morning, and commenced with singing Mr. Pierpont's hymn, which, by request, was read by himself—

'Souls of the patriot dead,
On Bunker's height who bled,' &c.

Mr. A. D. CONWAY, a native of Virginia, and now a member of the Cambridge Divinity School, made a very earnest and effective speech. He began with expressing his great satisfaction at being on a free platform, where he could utter his whole soul, as he could not do in Virginia. He reproved the subserviency and coldness of Massachusetts; he assured them they received no credit or honor for it from Southern men; they were now hated by the South, and were regarded as fit only to catch their slaves and do their bidding. He regarded the Southern mind as diseased, as insane on the subject of slavery. He said he had been brought up where white men *owned* slaves; now he had come where white men *were* slaves. And, said he, it is because you are slaves that you are thus scorned and trampled upon; and if you were not slaves here, there would be no slavery there. Mr. C's words were evidently from the depths of a soul very strongly stirred. It was a plain and truthful witness against Massachusetts, but given with a kind manner and in a courteous spirit. His remarks were warmly responded to.

SOJOURNER TRUTH (so called, once a slave in the State of New York,) made one of her characteristic speeches, speaking out of her former experience of slavery, and in a manner to command the regard and undivided attention of the great audience. For shrewdness, good sense, and genuine soul-eloquence, it is seldom that a speech is made to excel it.

WENDELL PHILLIPS next came forward, and in a speech, the whole of which will be given to our readers, pointed out what the friends of freedom need now to do.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER followed, for the purpose of indicating more clearly *the way* in which the work, laid out by Mr. Phillips, is to be done. There are, he said, two parties in this country, and but two. One is on Slavery's side, the other on the side of Liberty: and the time is come, when men should either put a thorough anti-slavery interpretation upon the Constitution, and practically carry out that interpretation, or take a stand with us outside of the Constitution. For this reason, he felt it to be his duty, more than ever before, to warn all against the Free Soil party, because it does neither of these things; but, on the contrary, admits the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution, yet swears to support it, nevertheless. He called on the friends of liberty every where to resist the Fugitive Slave Law, each one with such weapons as he thought right and proper; and to nullify that law, not only over United States laws, but over the laws of Massachusetts also.

HENRY THOREAU, of Concord, read portions of a racy and ably written address, the whole of which will be published in the LIBERATOR.

LUCY STONE spoke earnestly, yet sadly, of the inhumanity and low state of morals prevalent among the people, particularly instancing the low and vulgar manners of a large class of our young men. She asserted and showed the necessity of active laborers, to arouse the slumbering *soul* of the nation, in order to make the nation fit to carry forward the great cause of Liberty. She held her great audience in almost breathless silence through the whole of her address.

Rev. JOHN PIERPONT, having been repeatedly called for, spoke of the deeply corrupting influence which slavery has had on the moral and religious sense of the people. Slavery has made us, said he, a nation of atheists. He asserted the duty of all men to disregard and disobey all human laws not in harmony with the great and eternal law of God; arguing that this is good human law also, and in accordance with the opinion of Chief Justice Blackstone. Hence, if the Constitution of the United States does require the giving up of fugitive slaves, it has no binding force whatever; and our oath to support the Constitution imposes no obligation to return a fugitive slave, or to assist in or countenance such an act. It was wrong, he admitted, 'to swear unto a sin, but greater sin to keep the sinful oath.' Mr. Pierpont was heard with much attention, and received frequent applause.

Mr. Garrison followed in a few brief remarks on the pro-slavery designs and features of the Constitution, rendering it a polluted and blood-stained instrument, and the oath of allegiance to which in the highest degree immoral. The moral nullification of its compromises is nothing short of the dissolution of the Union.

The audience then united in singing the song, 'Let all be free.'

Dr. Henry O. Stone proposed, as a closing sentiment, 'The health, long life and happiness of PARKER PILLSBURY;—with our best wishes for his safe return home, and his renewed ability to labor for the anti-slavery cause.' This sentiment was received with great favor, and responded to most unanimously. After which, the meeting adjourned, and the great assembly dispersed.

The occasion was one long to be remembered, and the testimonies there borne against slavery such as cannot fail to produce a deep and lasting effect. It was a day well-spent.

FEELINGS OF A WOMAN.

How extensive and profound is the impression that has every where been made by the official kidnapping of Anthony Burns in Boston, and removal at the point of the bayonet, is forcibly illustrated by the following extract of a letter from one who, long since retired from public conspicuity, once occupied a distinguished place in the anti-slavery struggle, namely, ANGELINA GRIMKE WELD, wife of THEODORE D. WELD, and daughter of the late Hon. THOMAS S. GRIMKE, of Charleston, South Carolina. Writing to an esteemed friend in Brookline, Mass., she says:—

'But, dear brother, how utterly insignificant do all our personal affairs seem to be, when compared with the mighty interests which are at stake, and the great crisis which seems to be inevitably approaching our country and the world!

The passage of the Nebraska Bill, though expected, nevertheless falls *heavily* upon every heart which beats for liberty. It seems to have aroused the slumbering North as no other slave enactment ever did before. The scales at last have fallen from the blind eyes of thousands, who could not be reached by anything that abolitionists have said about the over-reaching and grasping cupidity of slavery.

The arrest of fugitives is the natural result of such a triumph in Congress; and although the shedding of human blood is utterly abhorrent to my mind, as barbarous and unchristian, yet the tame surrender of a helpless victim up to the fate of the slave is far more abhorrent; as slavery is equally, if not more, abhorrent to Christianity, than murder. In this case, it seems as though we are compelled to choose between two evils, and all that we can do is to take the *least*, and baptize liberty in blood, if it must be so. I confess that I would rather see twenty men killed than one poor fugitive returned into bondage: and I bless God that there were a PARKER and a PHILLIPS in Boston, fearless enough to utter the sedition they did in Faneuil Hall. Oh! that there were in every Northern city men as true, as bold as they were; and I sincerely hope that the arrest of every fugitive may be contested even unto blood. Not another slave should ever be surrendered. Liberty has too long been tampered with by those who professed to stand as a body-guard around her. It is time that the alarm-bell was rung through the Northern States, and that the holy resolution was solemnly, universally adopted, that, cost what it may, no fugitive from slavery should ever go back from Northern soil. But you may say a civil war must be the result of such a course. Yes, it would be; and if we cannot do our duty to the oppressed millions of our country and the world without war, let it come, both servile and civil: for I now entirely despair of the triumph of Justice and Humanity without the shedding of blood. A temporary war is an incomparably less evil than permanent slavery.

To surrender my own life to brute force is a bounty I may bestow upon the ruffian, if need be; but to surrender the flying fugitive, who confides to my hands that liberty which is *dearer than life*, is cowardly treachery to the trust he reposes in me; and I thereby prove myself unworthy of his confidence as a man and a brother. Do I amaze you by such a declaration of war against the principles of peace? I amaze myself; for I have clung to them with the greatest admiration and love; but it is so clear to my mind that we are *now* called upon to choose between slavery and war, and that the one is as much worse an evil than the other, that I have no hesitation as to which of them I am most sacredly and solemnly bound to choose. War, *temporary* war, rather than interminable slavery!

We talk about the desperate struggle which is before Europe; but, oh! is there not as desperate and bloody a struggle before us? Is the Slavery of America better than the Serfdom of Europe? Is the Autocrat of Russia any more bent upon the murder of Liberty in the East, than the Slaveholder is in the West? Can emancipation be effected *here* at any less price than it will cost *there*? Surely not! For the spirit of despotism is the same every where, whether it be in Austria or Carolina. It is the same Great Beast, diverse from all others, which treads down the poor and helpless, in every nation under heaven, and grinds them to powder. A Beast, indeed, too low in human development to be reached by the melting rays of truth and love.

It is indeed gratifying to find that civilization has so far progressed as to refuse to issue Letters of Marque; but humanity has been so long and so grievously outraged, that I fear Revenge will do its utmost in this great battle for the Right.'

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

RELATION OF THE NORTH TO SLAVERY. A Discourse preached in the Federal Street Meeting-House in Boston, on Sunday, June 11, 1854. By Ezra S. Gannett, Minister of the Federal Street Society. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1854.

That 'the world moves'—that the tide of anti-slavery feeling and sentiment is rising and swelling in all directions—that the period has arrived when even the most timid and conservative occupants of the pulpit, at least in New England, feel that something must be said by them to some extent adverse to the system of slavery, or they will no longer be tolerated—is made exceedingly palpable by the appearance, in print, of a discourse on this 'delicate' subject, by the Rev. Dr. Gannett, of this city. No clergyman has more strenuously discountenanced anti-slavery 'agitation,' or cherished more bitter and uncharitable feelings towards those who have so long borne the heat and burden of the day in the struggle for emancipation, than himself. Even since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, he has been charged with declaring that, as a good citizen, he would turn from his door the bound fugitive; and we presume the charge is not groundless. As the successor of the lamented WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, his acceptance by the 'worshippers' of the Federal Street Society indicated either an extraordinary fondness for paradox, or the loss of all power of discrimination.

We should be disposed to let the past lie buried in oblivion, if we could see any sign of a real change of mind, on his part, and a hearty abhorrence of the sin of enslaving any of the human race, however degraded or helpless. But his discourse, now before us, is manifestly as 'crooked as a Virginia fence,' and seems to have been delivered with a special design to illustrate, in its own case, the truth of the text selected by him—'If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is the darkness!'

Dr. Gannett first attempts to excite the most charitable feelings towards those who are slaveholders. Even though they 'frame a vindication of OWNERSHIP IN MAN BEINGS from texts gathered out of the Bible;' 'will not only be slow to charge them with wilful sin, but he 'dare not do it.' He says 'there are thousands of masters at the South, who believe slavery to be a logical deduction from sure premises, and a fair inference from Christian truths.' He says, again, 'to make the fact of slaveholding conclusive proof against a man's character, shows a disregard of one of the plainest lessons taught by human history.' As if any other proof were needed!—as if slaveholding were not as well-defined an act as highway robbery or piracy!—as if any other issue were made with the slaveholder than that he is willing to remain and be recognized as such!—as if he can honestly, in one breath, declare to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty, and in the next breath just as honestly proclaim slavery to be 'a fair inference from Christian truths'!—as if the all-loving Father had not given to every rational being an instinctive abhorrence of oppression, and no right to condemn him, whenever he attempts to oppress another!

Dr. Gannett thinks it is justifiable to pronounce 'the slave-dealer, who traffics in his fellow-beings *for the sake of gain*, or who treats them with *a cruelty which he would not exercise towards a brute*,' (how very nice the moral discrimination!) 'a bad man; for passion or avarice is his acknowledged motive.' But if his object be not selfish, and if he treats his fellow-beings as tenderly as he should brutes, he may pursue his traffic in their bodies and souls without criminality. If otherwise, why these qualifications?

How is it to be ascertained, in the case of the slave-trader, any more than in that of the slaveholder, whether he is actuated by selfish considerations? Is the slave-trading right, under any circumstances? Not the foreign slave-trade, for that is piracy by the law of the land, without any inquiry into motives or purposes. Is the domestic traffic less nefarious? No. The grand selfishness is in the act itself—in buying, selling or possessing slaves. No man was created a slave; it is a sin to make him a slave; it is also a sin to hold him as such. No man, however virtuous or well-disposed, is allowed to hold a slave in any part of New England. Whoever attempts to do so, will be sent to the penitentiary. If there are to be no exceptions here, why any at the South?

Dr. G. objects to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' on the ground that 'it is a narration of exceptional cases'!—when, as the exact truth is, in that remarkable work, the best possible view of the slave system is taken. He says that, 'in many families, the slaves are treated with uniform kindness'—yes, AS SLAVES, but not as rational and accountable beings. So are cattle and swine often well-treated. Is the right of ownership, in either case, a question of treatment? As if utterly oblivious to his own plea, Dr. G. on the next leaf states that, a year ago, he had an opportunity to behold slavery at the South, under 'its very best aspects,' and in 'returned home with a persuasion that it is a grievous wrong, *utterly indefensible and unjustifiable*'—which should be regarded by us with abhorrence.' That is the other side of his zig-zag fence. Then, taking another lurch, he says, 'It does not follow that immediate emancipation, in the sense of absolute freedom for the millions now held in bondage, is the duty of the South,' but only an 'immediate adoption of measures for the *final* (!) liberation ['half-way between now and never'] of every man, woman and child, now regarded as transferable property.' What a moral teacher, what a religious guide, is this!

Dr. Gannett proceeds to enlighten us how 'we may signify our repugnance to slavery, without the breach of any obligation that rests on us as Christians or citizens.' Four ways are open.

'First, we may maintain an inflexible determination to be drawn into no further support or countenance of this institution, direct or indirect, than we are already OBLIGED (!) to render. Not a hair's breadth beyond *the necessities of the case* (!) should we allow ourselves to go, under whatever inducement. While we *adhere to the terms which our fathers made*,' &c. That is, we will guard and uphold slavery where it now exists in the States, but not an inch beyond!

'Secondly, we may take all constitutional and lawful methods for securing an abrogation of those enactments, and of those provisions of the fundamental law, which offend our moral convictions.' As if, by our allegiance to God, we are not in duty b

GOD GREATER THAN MAN. A Sermon preached June 11, after the Rendition of Anthony Burns, by JOSHUA YOUNG, Minister of the First Congregational Church, Burlington, Vt. Burlington: Published by Samuel B. Nichols. 1854.

This is a Sermon worthy of the crisis, and of the free spirit of the Green Mountains. Judge of its quality by the following extracts. Mr. Young was present at the scene he describes. He says of the anniversary week in Boston—

I remember only one scene. I have knowledge of only one subject. Such a week I never knew before—New England never knew—our country never knew. Sad and heart-sick, I have come back, not to tell you what I have witnessed—the papers have attempted to describe the scene, but it cannot be described—the downcast look, the heavy heart, the pale face, the sad tone, the ominous shake of the head, the thoughts and feelings that would not let men sleep—oh, it was a dark week!—but I have come back to fulfil a vow I then and there laid upon my soul, to plead the cause of the slave—the cause of human rights and liberty, with renewed zeal; to give whatever talent God has bestowed upon me, and whatever of influence I am permitted to exert, to the agitation and discussion of this evil, wrong, crime against man, sin against God—American Slavery: until by its abolition, or, if that calamity must be, by the dissolution of the Union—a separation between the North and the South—there be some part of this western continent worthy to be called the 'home of the brave, the land of the free'—one free and independent people, whose religion is the gospel of Christ, *not read and preached to suit the oppressor*, and whose God is the Father, not of a portion, but of the *whole human race*.

* * * * *

Brethren, our religion is vain, and our worship here but solemn mockery, the first moment we depart but a hair's breadth from the great principle, that we ought to obey God rather than man, and that no law can possibly be obligatory upon us, by whomsoever passed, or howsoever enforced, if it come in conflict with the commands of Heaven.—Nay, the obligation is to disobey such a law; to disclaim it. It may cost you your reputation, your friends, your property; it may cost you your life; but no consideration, either of gain or of loss, no false hope of good results, no base fear of evil consequences affects in the least the morality of the course you may pursue. Duty remains solemn, stern, unalterable! No earthly power can supersede the authority of conscience; no human statute can annul the law of God. Men may blaspheme, if they will, and scout the idea as they please, but there *is* a Power superior to Congress, a Law higher than any human constitution. As the sky above us is higher than the cupola of the State House and the dome of the Capitol, and reaches farther than the boundaries of the nation, so God's government is higher than man's government, and the Divine law broader than human law.

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As a general proposition, no sane man would ever think of denying, that he is, not only politically, but morally and religiously bound to obey the laws under which he lives. It is plain, however, that the duty of civil obedience is not, *cannot* be absolute and unconditional. If that national calamity do occur, that a godless nation so far plots its own destruction as to pass a law which is a gross and daring violation of the moral law of God, subversive of Right, Truth, and Justice,—Duty, Patriotism, Morality, Religion, all bid us to disclaim, to disobey the wicked statute.

* * * * *

Before the tribunal, then, of God and of man, I arraign the Fugitive Slave Law, as wicked and infamous—a dark deed of sin—an act of tyranny. And this is the law, merciless, and unrighteous, and bloody, whose crushing weight a great and proud nation has just laid on the back of one poor black man, literally enforcing it at the point of the bayonet, the mouth of the cannon, and at an expense—for the money argument always tells—of more than $50,000!

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What then remains to be done? We have the ballot-box. Well, brethren, if you have faith in that, use your right of suffrage as *men*: responsible, firstly, to your God, and secondly, to your country. But for one, I tell you frankly, and sadly, I have lost all faith in political action, until that party rises which shall take God for its leader, the Gospel of Christ for its platform, and adopts for its resolutions, as embodying its principles of action, the two great commandments: 'Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, and thy Neighbor as thyself.'

* * * * *

The disease of which this nation is dying, the canker that is eating at its vitals, is *Constitutional Idolatry*. The exaggerated sacredness of the American Constitution, as an instrument whose wisdom is never, in any respect, to be called in question; whose entire and absolute perfection is never to be doubted, (albeit allowing of Slavery as it does,) has done more to cloud the moral perceptions of this people, to debauch the consciences of men, that can be told. To it—to the Constitution, by man made, and by man expounded—we are told we must look for the highest rule of action; not to the God-made Conscience, as enlightened and purified by the Gospel of Christ. We are told that there is no law higher than the Constitution; no authority more reliable and imperative!

RECORDS OF THE BUBBLETON PARISH; or, Papers from the Experience of an American minister. With Illustrations by Billings. Boston: A. Tompkins and B. B. Mussey & Co. 1854.

This work is destined to have a *run*. Though we have not yet found time to complete its perusal, we have read enough of it to be satisfied that it has rare merits. Since the *Vicar of Wakefield*, by Goldsmith, we doubt if any thing has been published, respecting clerical experience and vicissitude, more humorous, or more graphic. We do not know, and have heard no surmise, who is the author of it; but he has genius and good temper, wit and philosophy in his composition. We may speak of it again. The following is the author's dedication:—

'To the Independent Christian Pastor, who maintains the integrity of his office, amid the allurements of friendship and the threatenings of enmity; proclaiming the will of God with fearless faith and uncompromising purity; trusting in the power of truth and the recompense of virtue; these "Records of Ministerial Vicissitudes in the celebrated Parish of Bubbleton," are very respectfully dedicated.'

THE CRISIS OF FREEDOM. A Sermon, preached at the Free Church, in Lynn, on Sunday, June 11, 1854, by SAMUEL JOHNSON. Published by request of the Society. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co., 111 Washington street. 1854.

Mr. Johnson is a man of rare modesty, fine intellectual culture, and great moral courage—far in advance of his age, and nobly faithful to his highest convictions of duty. He has here given to the public a sermon, growing out of the rendition of Anthony Burns, which has had no superior, connected with the melancholy event, in point of ability, thoroughness of principle, or anti-slavery feeling. We should like to print it entire in our columns, but can only find room for some extracts in another number.

THE CLASSIC GLEE BOOK; being a Selection of Standard Glees, Madrigals, &c., from the works of Callcot, Horsley, Webbe, Stafford Smith, Attwood, Danby, and other celebrated Composers, Ancient and Modern. Boston: Published by Oliver Ditson.

PERSONAL INTEGRITY AND HONOR.

DEAR GARRISON:

In the commercial crisis of 1836, an abolitionist of the most radical and thorough kind, and well-known to you, was forced to compromise with his creditors; since which, by change of fortune, he has become possessed of some property, and, having been one of his former creditors, I have received, on account of this compromised debt, and for which I had no legal claim, the sum of fifty dollars. This sum, I wish the widow of JAMES W. WALKER to receive, and will hand the amount to Mr. Walcutt. Yours,

AN ABOLITIONIST.

Boston, July 5, 1854.

☞ This is honorable to both parties. A debt not legally binding has been paid, and the amount by the receiver appropriated to the aid of the family of one who fell a martyr to his labors in the cause of the slave.

THE AMERICAN UNION—NO 'FINALITY.'

It would be strange indeed, if the wisest of our countrymen did not at times entertain some misgivings in these days of national doubt and anxiety, concerning the future of our Republic. The world's past history is full of warning records, that seem to counsel us not to be over-hopeful of our experiment at self-government; nor does the present aspect of affairs in this nation less impressively teach us that we are not too great, too wise, or too powerful to fall.

God decrees no 'finalities,' in his ever-progressive and ever-unfolding plans of providence. Human governments may impiously set boundaries to thought, to will, to action, and the appointed rulers, 'dressed in a little brief authority,' may, in the pride of power, say to the citizen, 'Back, presumptuous! nor dare to question the wisdom and justice of our enactments! There is no mandate higher than to do what we command! Ours is the Medo-Persian law, and changes not!' But presently, 'God lets loose a great thinker in the world'—may be an army of them. Nothing is safe now, no matter how ancient, no matter how revered in the eyes of majorities. It is enough for the reformer to know that 'their evil is not good.' He attacks prevailing errors. Times and customs are changed. Laws once thought to be good and wholesome—at least, tolerable—become worthless, perhaps odious, and are swept away. Men in political and religious parties look for their Baltimore Platforms and Westminster Catechisms, and they find them sick beyond recovery, or dead past resurrection. Constitutions, once believed to be more holy than those who made them, are found to be slips of paper merely, on which are inscribed certain cant phrases, which mean every thing or nothing, according to the whim of those whom the 'dear people' have placed in power. Such is the force of educational bias, that it is only after a long time that the 'dear people' begin to realize the fact, that the cause must be superior to the effect—the maker greater than the thing made. They are slow to discern that the creation of one good thing does in no wise repeal the possibility of creating another and better of the same sort.

'At this moment, the terror of old people, and of vicious people,' says Emerson, in his admirable *Essay on Young America*, 'is lest the Union of these States be destroyed: as if the Union had any other real basis than the good pleasure of a majority of the people to be united. But the wise and just man will always feel that he stands on his own feet; that he imparts strength to the State, not receives strength from it; and that if all went down, he and such as he would quite easily combine in a new and better Constitution. Every great and honorable community has consisted of great and formidable individuals, who, like the Roman or the Spartan, lent his own spirit to the State, and made it great.'

Let those whose education and habits of thought induce them to believe the American Union a thing so sacred that its dissolution would be the greatest of all calamities, reflect on these things. Then let them turn to the Declaration of Independence—a thing that has not quite escaped the memory of our times—and see what its endorsers thought of human governments; what they held to be the 'right' and 'duty' of the citizen, when the government under which he lives becomes subversive of certain ends. Now, their lesson is more than half learned; for if they will read on, they will discover that the exciting causes of the American Revolution of 1776 were, in their most important bearing, precisely such as are in full operation in this year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and fifty-four. For, what was the most important bearing of the acts of Great Britain, if it was not to crush out liberty?

The preamble of our National Constitution, in harmony, thus far, with the Declaration, proclaims its object to be, among other things, 'to establish justice'; but this nation has set itself about establishing injustice; for what is the Fugitive Slave *Law*, so called, but one of the very worst forms of it?—'to promote the *general* welfare'; but our government is turned into an engine for promoting *local* and transient interests, to the detriment of the nation at large;—'and to secure the blessings of *liberty* to ourselves and posterity'; but the nation abolishes freedom where it *did* exist, decrees to slavery a territory larger in extent than the original thirteen States, and vieing in vastitude with all the existing free States! And now sits our nation at the Capitol, looking with lustful eyes on Cuba. What next?

Reader! you have had your lesson, and now, what is your conclusion? 'Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar, or not?'

E. C.

WORCESTER COUNTY, SOUTH DIVISION, A. S. SOCIETY.

Agreeably to the call of its officers, the above-named Society convened at the Town Hall in Fitchburg, on Saturday, the 24th inst.

The usual Committees on Business and Finance were appointed, and brief addresses made by Dr. Robinson, Lucy Stone, Rev. Mr. Babcock and others, after which the Convention adjourned, to meet at 7½ o'clock.

EVENING SESSION. Resolutions were reported by the Business Committee, and supported, in a brief, but able and pertinent speech, by Rev. Mr. Babcock, of Lunenberg.

Lucy Stone then came forward, and in a clear, logical and incontrovertible manner, showed the purpose and design of the Slave Power to so control the government of the nation, that not a single inch of territory shall remain on which the colored man can stand and say, 'I am free.' Miss Stone spoke nearly an hour and a half, in her own inimitable style, carrying conviction to the consciences of all, that either Liberty or Slavery must soon reign triumphant in the councils of the nation.

At half-past nine o'clock, the Convention adjourned, to meet on the morrow at the church of Rev. Elnathan Davis.

SUNDAY. At the usual hours of service on the Sabbath, the Society assembled, and listened with interest and profit to two able and eloquent discourses in behalf of the poor and oppressed, from Rev. Daniel Foster. It was indeed felt that the Spirit of the Lord was upon the speaker, because He had sent him to preach the Gospel to the poor, to 'proclaim deliverance to the captive, to set at liberty them that are bound, and to declare the acceptable year of the Lord.'

In the evening, the spacious Town Hall was filled to overflowing, to listen again to the wrongs and outrages suffered by the poor slave, as his woes and indignities should be described by Lucy Stone. For more than an hour, the speaker held the vast assembly entranced by the power of her eloquence and high-toned moral sentiment, which melt the hardest heart to pity and to tears. As we pass down the broad vista of the future, the truth uttered on this occasion shall be felt more and more, until the clanking fetters shall cease to be heard, and the last bondman shall join in the universal jubilee.

I have attempted no report of the speeches delivered, feeling that nothing like justice could be done to the speakers. Suffice it to say, that the addresses, both of Mr. Foster and Miss Stone, were worthy their authors, and worthy the cause they have espoused.

The Society adjourned, to hold its next quarterly meeting at Barre, at the call of its officers.

D. M. ALLEN, *Secretary*.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER for July is received. Contents:—1. The Apocalyptic Doctrine of the Last Things, by Rev. Wm. R. Alger, 2. Silvio Pellico, by Henry T. Tuckerman, Esq; 3. Ministrant, by S. E. Litchfield; 4. Rev. Joseph Badger and the Christian Connection, by Rev. Edmund H. Sears; 5. Old Age, by Rev. Dr. Frothingham; 6. Fisher Ames, by Rev. Dr. Lamson; 7. The Scientific Criticism of the New Testament, by Rev. O. B. Frothingham; 8. On the meaning of a passage in Justin Martyr, by Rev. George F. Simmons and Rev. J. H. Morrison; Notices of recent publications; Intelligence. Crosby, Nichols & Co. are the publishers.

THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE RENDITION OF FUGITIVES FROM THE FREE STATES.

MR. EDITOR:

The Law has been 'vindicated'—the 'supremacy' of the Law has been maintained—'a glorious day for Boston!' are the general exclamations of the pro-slavery press in Boston. The conductors of those presses seem to forget their fathers, and condemn the noble spirit of liberty which enabled them to assert and maintain the freedom of their country and the liberty of its citizens. The fathers of our Revolution established the broad, fundamental principle, that 'all men are born free and equal,' and possess the 'inalienable right' of defending their lives and enjoying their liberty. Why should the Boston presses repudiate the doctrines of our fathers? It is *not* done in obedience to the dictates of their consciences and their judgment, and their sense of right and wrong, but in the spirit of degrading subserviency to the Southern slave States—the tyrannical Slave Power of the country.

The *Post*, *Courier*, *Journal* and *Advertiser* admit that the Fugitive Slave Law is unnecessarily severe and inhuman, and altogether repugnant to the feelings and sentiments of the Northern States; and yet they 'rejoice to see that law enforced in Boston at the point of the bayonet'—subjecting the citizens of Boston to martial law—suspending the civil and making the military power the supreme dictator in our business and social movements, denying to the citizens even the use of the sidewalks. Will those presses, or can they, defend and justify that recent military outrage upon our civil rights? Can the Mayor delegate power which he does not possess? A law that cannot be enforced without such an exhibition of brute force, and trampling under foot the civil authority and all our civil rights, cannot be either a wise, humane, or constitutional law. If it must be enforced, let the government that enacted it provide the means. Such a law, with its unprecedented penalties, aimed at every citizen of Massachusetts who may refuse to become a slave-catcher, is an unprovoked insult to the sovereign power of this State, which abolished slavery in 1780. Every free State must feel this insult.

Look at the absurdity. A people, in the exercise of their sovereign right and power, abolish and forbid human slavery within their jurisdiction; and then suffer themselves to be made the unwilling and degraded instruments, in violation of every principle of humanity and their own deliberate sovereign act, to assist in arresting and sending into slavery a man as clearly entitled to freedom as any citizen of Massachusetts! Liberty herself may well blush and attempt in vain to hide the shame which attaches to those who profess to be her friends, advocates and defenders.

Such acts are to be done, not only only on the soil of Massachusetts, which drank the first blood that was shed in the cause of American liberty, but her citizen soldiers are 'commanded' to use their brute force in carrying out, to its legitimate consummation, the inhuman edict of the Slave Power.

If Massachusetts had the right and the power to abolish slavery in 1780, where is the power that can be rightfully exercised, which can 'command' her to aid and assist in establishing and perpetuating the same 'accursed institution'? No where, *no where*, but in the surrender of her own judgment and principles, and in humiliating submission to the dictatorial and perfidious Slave Power of the Southern States.

The deep, unutterable sentiment of Massachusetts is against the unjust and abominable Fugitive Slave Law. That Law is the *whip* in the hand of the Slave Power, to be used in subjecting the free States to obedience and submission to its base and unholy purposes. While we abstain from all open and unlawful opposition to its enforcement, we regard it the right and duty of every man to withhold all aid in its execution. Pass over the cruel and unchristian object contemplated by it, and look at the main issue, involving the *personal freedom* of a man, a woman, or a child, who has committed no crime, who is seized while employed in earning an honest living; claimed by a man whose avarice or passions demands the person or the earnings of the fugitive, carried before a 'Commissioner,' whose integrity or independence may be influenced by the promise of five dollars if he decides in favor of humanity and right, and TEN dollars if he sends a fellow-citizen into perpetual slavery, in violation of his conscience, if it be not already seared as with a hot iron—can it be the right, can it be the *duty* of any man to volunteer his services in executing such a law, and can it be regarded as constitutional to deprive even a colored person, when placed in such circumstances, of the great and sacred right of trial by jury? If the institution of Southern slavery demands these sacrifices, if such enormities are to be tolerated in order to sustain it, then, we say, let them be made where the institution belongs, and let the institution, with all its concomitant evils, be *kept within its present jurisdictional limits*. The free States have forbidden or abolished slavery within their limits, and why should they be harassed, insulted, or even subjected to the disgrace and expense of protecting or defending it, in any way, out of its own degraded local limits? The laws for the protection of slavery should have no force here, because there is no slavery here to protect. If the South cannot take care of its '*peculiar institution*' without our help, then, we say, let it be abolished. When we cannot maintain our institutions of freedom without calling on or insulting the South, we will surrender or abolish them. *Honesty* binds both parties, or neither. Does the passage of the Nebraska Bill come up to this just and righteous principle?

In conclusion, let me ask every man to remember, that in 1788, the Constitution was adopted, and the North, or free States, reluctantly consented to the further continuance of the slave trade for twenty years; after that time, it was made and treated as piracy. Let it be also remembered, that Massachusetts abolished slavery in 1780. This was, and still is, an act of the sovereign people of the State. Now, if I am detected in kidnapping or buying an African, and bringing him away from his native country and selling him to a Southern planter, where his moral and physical condition will be better, perhaps, than it could have been at home, I am to be arrested and treated as a pirate. Of this I do not complain; it is right and just. But is it not infinitely more unjust and inhuman to pursue an American-born colored man, with a cultivated mind and refined manners, who has run away from slavery into a land of freedom, and force him back into bondage? Which of the two modes of kidnapping—'slave-trading'—when viewed in a moral and physical sense, in connection with the *effect* upon the party kidnapped, deserves, and will ere long receive, the universal execrations of mankind? We ask again, which of the two modes, if either, will the free States approve?

The sovereign power of Massachusetts has abolished and forbidden slavery within her jurisdiction. The Southern States virtually nullify that act of sovereignty, and by the Fugitive Slave Law, *commands* the sovereign power of Massachusetts not only to permit the kidnapping of American-born citizens on her own soil, but commands her civil and military power to *assist* in the inhuman work of sending back into slavery a man, who, by her organic and statute laws, is recognized and declared to be a *freeman!* Is there not an irreconcilable conflict between the sovereignty of this State, in abolishing slavery, and the Fugitive Slave Law? The arrest of Burns, and his compulsory return to slavery, have awakened the public conscience and united public sentiment in relation to this subject; and we believe the people of this Commonwealth are ready to maintain the principle of freedom which was established in 1780, and by so doing prevent, hereafter, all conflict between the sovereign power of the State and the inhuman Fugitive Slave Law. The Nebraska Bill is an insult to the free States, and furnishes an additional illustration of the injustice of the South towards Mr. Webster, and justly leaves the rendition of slaves to those States, and those only, who have *not* already abolished the institution of negro slavery within the jurisdiction of their State sovereignty. Humanity demands and justifies this course.

AMICUS.

A SHORT FOURTH OF JULY ORATION, FOR 1854.

The late events which have transpired in Boston have led me to seek in earnestness and prayer the path of duty, morally and politically, which, as a Whig, I am called upon to pursue. The temporising and expediency policy of the past has overwhemed us with a fearful recoil, and instead of reconciling the South, or producing any fruits of reciprocity, has only served the purpose of feeding and pampering the insatiable and growing appetite of the Slave Power, until it virtually claims the monstrous portion of the whole. As that cannot be gratified, and as nothing short will satisfy, down with the Slave Power in the free States, and down with its insidious and damning approaches on the virgin and uncontaminated Territories of our country! This is the war-cry that I find on the lips and in the heart of every young Whig with whom I have talked. America shall be

'The land of the free and the home of the brave,'

or ashes to ashes, and dust to dust, be inscribed on our broad arch, over the unreturning brave. The duped compromisers and temporisers still say, 'Peace, peace; all is quiet now, and all will soon be forgotten.' True, 'order reigns in Warsaw.' I thank New England's moral thunderer for that peal; but not the fair side of Etna, on the morn of its first irruption, belied the fiery billows, boiling at the heart, more than this show of quiet, the fiery indignation kindling at the shames and wrongs inflicted at the cannon's mouth, under the shade of 'Bunker's awful mount,' under the very droppings of our sacred fane to Liberty, over the grave of Hancock!—over the dust of Adams! Even the ghost of Daniel rises from his narrow house, and, pointing to the late Nebraska outrage, cries, 'Beware! beware!' No compromise with slavery! That moral wreck 'pleads haughtily for glories gone,' and from the shades of Marshfield rises the great American Beacon over the rocks of Slavery.

X.

THE MUSIC HALL. Thomas B. Curtis, Esq., has written a letter to the proprietors of the Boston Music Hall, in reference to leasing that Hall to the 'Twenty-eighth Congregation,' (Rev. Theodore Parker.) He states, that at the solicitation of the late Jonas Chickering, he contributed five thousand dollars towards securing the erection of the Hall, and claims that the leasing of it to the abovenamed Society is a violation of the terms, both implied and expressed, upon which the Hall was built, and that by it the original purpose is violated, defeated and annulled. In answer to the argument that no lease is refused to a tenant able to pay, unless he puts the 'premise to uses legally indictable,' Mr. Curtis, as a proprietor, maintains that the present occupation is the more dangerous, because it is a nuisance not reached by law. With these views, Mr. Curtis caused a motion to be made at the late annual meeting, to terminate the lease to the Twenty-eighth Congregation, the adoption of which, he says, he had reason to expect by a large majority. He still believes that a majority of the proprietors, as of the public, is with him in the hope, that one who evinces want of loyalty to the institutions of God and of man, will not be permitted to continue under their roof his seditious harangues, and scoffing denunciations of the good and the great, both living and dead!—Mr. Curtis is himself a nuisance.

COMMISSIONER LORING REBUKED. The *Commonwealth* publishes the following anecdote, which should have had an earlier place in our columns, and which may be relied on as an actual occurrence:—

'Yesterday morning, while *Commissioner* Loring was passing through Boylston Market, his attention was arrested, at the stall of Mr. W., by the inviting appearance of a pig, handsomely dressed and ready for roasting when he approached the stall, and the following conversation took place:—

Com. Loring—Mr. W., what is the price of that pig?

Mr. W.—Mr. Loring, I can't sell you that pig.

Com. Loring—Can't sell me that pig—why not, sir?

Mr. W.—I am afraid, sir, that your money would burn my pocket. I have no wish to handle any portion of the ten dollars for which the liberty of a citizen of Massachusetts was sold.

This rebuke was heard by several persons present, who saw the blood rise to the cheek of the guilty Commissioner, who departed without making any further inquiries about the price of a pig.

☞ Rev. Theodore Parker stated, several weeks since, in one of his Sunday sermons in Music Hall, that Thomas Sims was taken to the prison in Savannah, and was beaten to death. On this the Charleston *Courier* remarks:—

'Unfortunately for the reverend gentleman's reputation for truth, his statement does not contain one *iota* of that virtue. When Sims was returned, his master immediately sent him to a highly respectable broker of this city, with instructions to sell him forthwith, but to allow him to select, if possible, his purchaser. This Sims was unable to do, and therefore, at his own request, was shipped to New Orleans, where *he* found a party willing to buy him, and at this present time is working in that city at his trade, that of a brick-layer, so successfully, that in a short time he will be in a condition, if he feels so disposed, to purchase himself.'

Mr. Chastain, of Georgia, said in his Cuba speech, the other day, that, if nothing else would do, he would 'go for an undisguised open war, for taking Cuba by force of arms.' The *Union*, in publishing this speech, said, 'His positions will be heartily responded to by the country.' What barefaced scoundrelism!

CLINCHED. The best settler that we have yet seen to the hue and cry of the Douglas pack against the 3000 clergymen for meddling with the slavery question, comes from Chapman of the *Chanticleer*. The clergymen are charged with going out of their sphere and interfering with politics. Chapman says that the South has already contended that slavery is a *divine* institution, and therefore no people have so good a right to regulate it as the divines! Chapman is becoming a regular Shanghai! Such *crowing* as this is worth listening to.—*Chicago Tribune.*

☞ A Virginia correspondent of a New York paper says that the kidnapper, Suttle, has returned home a disunionist. The Virginians may rest assured that the converts to disunion, made by the recent kidnapping scene in Boston, are not *all* South of Mason and Dixon's line. A few more attempts at man-stealing at the North would convince all, who are not in the pay of our man-stealing national administration, or under the influence of our city government's *rum*, that disunion is preferable to continued servility.

The Washington *Union* predicts, that at the next election in New York, 'the friends of the administration will roll up a majority.' We don't believe they will roll up anything but the whites of their eyes.—*Louisville Journal.*

The authorities are taking active measures to have the city thoroughly cleansed of all *filth* and impurities.—*Nat. Intell.*

If this be strictly carried out, the abolitionists will be swept away from their main sewer.—*Washington Sent.*

A mistake: this will be but the application of abolition principles to physical as well as to moral evil.—*Nat. Era.*

Edson B. Olds, of Ohio, one of the slavocratic member of Congress, was once an outspoken abolitionist, and a warm admirer of Theodore D. Weld, under whose influence he professed to have been converted to the cause.

The *Essex Banner* thinks that the provision in the Nebraska Bill which gives the people the right to hold slaves, is 'a step forward in the progress of civilization.' (!!) Patent Democracy.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE. Senator Slidell, in Executive Session, to-day, reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations a proposition, giving notice of a termination of our treaty stipulation binding us to keep a naval force on the coast of Africa to assist in preventing the slave trade.—*Telegraph to Wednesday's papers.*

That's right. While we make use of our revenue cutters to carry men into slavery, we certainly, to be consistent, should not employ our navy to break up the slave trade. Our government has become a great slavery propagandist, and it is high time that news of the change was sent to the African coast. Would it not be a good plan to have our naval ships, when they come home, bring a cargo of niggers for the Southern market? They might be landed in Boston, and sent South in cutters, as they are wanted.—*Providence Journal.*

TURNING STATE'S EVIDENCE. The paper whose editor and publisher is John Wentworth, M. C., from Illinois, has the following in reference to the moral atmosphere of Washington:—

'Washington, with all its beauty, is a heartless, wicked place. It is one great gambling den, where the stakes are offices and the players legislators. Every body says that all others are rascals and knaves, and every body acts as if he believed what every body says is true.'

An Abolitionist.—The last Lynchburg *Virginian* states that a young man from one of the Northern States, named Richard Norris, an employee on the Virginia and Tennessee railroad, was, on Tuesday, brought before the Mayor of Lynchburg, charged with having publicly uttered sentiments of an abolition and incendiary character in one of the hotels of that city. After a full hearing of the case, the prisoner was recognized in the sum of $200 to appear for further trial at the next term of the Circuit Court.

☞ A State with such laws upon its statute book, and creatures within its borders mean enough to enforce them, should be left in the exclusive possession of men whose profession is nigger-raising and slave-driving.

Outrage.—A free colored man, named Jas. Wright, was taken from a steamboat at New Orleans, some days ago, claimed as a slave, who had left his master twelve years since, and returned to the claimant, who immediately afterwards sold him to a Cuban. Wright was a resident of Penn township, in this county, and has lived in this neighborhood for the last nine years. His wife was employed on board the boat as a chambermaid when her husband was seized.—*Pittsburg Gaz.*

☞ From all the indications in Illinois, we are forced to conclude that Stephen A. Douglas is completely shorn of popularity and power in that State, by his course on the Nebraska Bill. We do not believe he could be elected to any office in Illinois, even if the voting were to be done exclusively by the Democratic party.—*Louisville Journal.*

☞ Kossuth has been making an attempt in England to get up a war movement in favor of Hungary and Poland. He made a speech to a large meeting at Sheffield, which is strongly denounced by the London newspapers. The *Morning Chronicle* says—'Whether M. Kossuth is at this moment an emissary in the service of the Emperor of Russia, we have no means of determining; but certain it is that, to the best of his ability, he is aiding the cause, and entitling himself to the gratitude of our enemy.' The *Times* is equally strong against him.

Death of Kossuth's Sister.—Madame Meszlengi, the youngest of the three sisters of Kossuth, who came to this country in the spring of 1853, died at her residence in New York city, on Thursday of last week. Her disease was consumption, the seeds of which were planted in her constitution by the harsh treatment she received in her native country. She leaves two children, one eleven, and the other thirteen years of age.

A Gross Outrage—Blowing up of a Church.—The new stone Catholic Church, in process of erection in Dorchester, near Milton, was blown up yesterday morning at three o'clock, by placing a keg of gunpowder on the floor of the building. The roof was entirely blown off, and the east and west walls demolished, making a complete wreck of the building. The explosion was heard a great distance, and was supposed to be a patriotic demonstration in honor of the fourth of July. There are various rumors as to the authors of this outrage, some attributing it to the opponents of the Irish, others to some of the Catholics who have been opposed to the location of the church, and other causes.—*Transcript of Wednesday.*

☞ The New York *Times* announces that Pembroke, a slave of Mr. Grove, of Maryland, who was recently returned from New York as a fugitive, has been freed by purchase, through the efforts of his brother, Rev. Dr. Pennington, of New York. But his two sons have both been sold to the South.

☞ Two scoundrels tried to kidnap a mulatto boy in Cincinnati recently. They sold the little fellow for $200, but he got away. They found him again and seized him; but he screamed, told his story, and was rescued. The villains made their escape.

☞ It is stated that the cholera is raging badly upon the plantation of Mr. Lambdin, in Louisiana, some six miles below this place. It is stated that twenty negroes had died there since last Friday.—*Natchez Courier, June 21st.*

☞ A female slave, who had managed to escape from her master, was taken across the Niagara river to the Canada side at Black Rock.—*Buffalo Com.*

☞ The City Council of Worcester have voted that the money ($1500) which they had previously voted for the celebration of Independence, shall be appropriated for the relief of the sufferers by the late fire.

Terrible Railroad Accident.—On the Susquehannah Railroad, near Baltimore, on the evening of the Fourth, a collision took place between the regular train from New York, and a Know-Nothing excursion train. Twenty-four persons were instantly killed, and thirty-three seriously wounded.

Politics in Vermont.—The Whig and Free Soil County Convention assembled in Essex, Chittenden Co., Vt., June 29, and acted in harmonious concert throughout, the tickets nominated being composed of Whigs and Free Soilers in equal proportion. Resolutions, taking strong ground in favor of the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and the Nebraska Bill, were passed unanimously.

Death of Hogs from the Heat.—About seventy-five hogs which were brought down to Brighton in cars on the Boston and Worcester Railroad, on Tuesday, died, as is supposed, from the intense heat of that day. They were mostly quite large and fat, and the loss to the owner is about $2000. A number of them were strewed along the line of the road next morning.

☞ Some fiend in human shape recently placed twin babies about a week old, on the track of the railroad from Chicago to Davenport. They were discovered by the engineer of a train, which was stopped just in time to refrain from running over them. The conductor took possession of the babies, and intends to rear them.

☞ The total receipt of Customs at the port of New York for the fiscal year ending last week was $12,166,780.15, exhibiting an increase over the preceding year of $3,428.86.

☞ At St. Louis, a few days since, were a number of gangs of slaves, *en route* for Nebraska, in charge of their owners. Similar statements respecting the transportation of slaves to Kansas are made by the Independence (Missouri) *Dispatch.*

☞ The death of Thomas Ritchie, of Richmond, Va., for a long series of years an influential politician, and editor of the *Richmond Inquirer*, and, during Mr. Polk's administration, editor of the *Washington Union*, then, as now, the government organ, died on Monday.

Sentence for Engaging in the Slave Trade.—In the United States Court, Monday afternoon, Casper Kerhman, master of the brig Clamorgan, who was convicted of being engaged in the slave trade, was sentenced to three years imprisonment in Worcester Jail, and to pay a fine of $1000.

☞ One step towards Independence was taken at Montagne, on the Fourth, by the execution of its four leading Traitors, viz: *Pierce, Douglas, Loring* and *Hallett*. Appropriate funeral exercises under the direction of——Public Sentiment.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

☞ ESSEX CO. A. S. SOCIETY.—The Annual meeting of this Society will be held in Lyceum Hall, Salem, to commence on Saturday evening, July 8, and continue through the following Sunday, day and evening.

Among the speakers on the occasion will be WM. LLOYD GARRISON and ANDREW T. FOSS.

A prompt and full attendance of the friends of the cause is particularly desired.

C. L. REMOND, *President.*

JOSEPH MERRILL, *Secretary.*

LORING MOODY will speak on the relations of the North to Slavery, in

Lawrence	Sunday,	July 9.
Methuen	Tuesday,	" 11.
Haverhill	Thursday,	" 13.
Groveland	Sunday,	" 16.
West Newbury	Tuesday,	" 18.
Georgetown	Thursday,	" 20.
Newburyport	Sunday,	" 23.

☞ HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in Pepperell, on Sunday, July 9; and in Stoughton, on Sunday, July 16.

☞ STEPHEN S. FOSTER and ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, Agents of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at READING, on Sunday next, July 9th.

They will also hold a meeting at VALLEY FALLS, R. I., on Sunday, July 16.

The address of LUCY STONE, during the ensuing summer, will be at Gardner, Mass., *care of Mr. Lawrence.* Friends will be careful to make the addition, as there is another Lucy Stone in the place.

Songs for the Times,

COMPRISING

I. A NATIONAL SONG:

Being a poetic description of the American Congress, and a history of the action of that body, *in behalf of Slavery*, during the last twenty years; showing its entire servility to the South.

II. A MASSACHUSETTS SONG:

Being sentiments suggested by the recent slave-hunt in Boston.

III. THE FREEMAN'S APPEAL TO FREEMEN:

In which the friends of Humanity are urged to keep their integrity.

To which is appended—

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POETRY.

For the Liberator.

FOURTH OF JULY — 1854.

I.

Let mirth be laid aside,
For LIBERTY lies dead!
And in His word confide,
Who hath to mourners said:
'As is your day, your strength shall be,
If you will put your trust in me.'

II.

On this our natal day,
Men will repeat *the lie*,
That 'neath no tyrant's sway,
Watched by no master's eye,—
Though basely leagued with SLAVERY,—
We are a people BRAVE and FREE!

III.

Sin shall not always reign,
And triumph over men;
Truth shall the conquest gain,
As light o'er darkness, when
From God went forth the word divine,
And out of darkness, light did shine.

IV.

We do not walk by sight,
But faith directs our way;
Grief may endure a night,
Joy comes with breaking day;—
The mighty God in whom we trust,
Shall bring oppression to the dust.

V.

'Mid all the trying scenes
Through which we're passing now,
May Heaven its kindest beams
Around our pathway throw:—
We weep to see the WRONG extend,
But RIGHT shall triumph in the end.

HUMANITAS.

[Written for the A. S. Celebration at Framingham.]

NOT WITH IDLE BOASTS OF FREEDOM.

'Tis Greece, but LIVING *Greece no more.'*

Not with songs of joy and gladness have we gathered here to-day,
But with hearts oppressed with sadness, bowing 'neath the tyrants' sway;
Not with idle boasts of freedom—not the glorious dead to praise,
And their noble deeds of valor chant in proud historic lays.

Not to tell the oft-told story of the noble ones of old,
But the mournful tale rehearsing of a brother chained and sold;
And of freemen basely bowing to a law they should have spurned,—
Law that by a Christian nation never should be taught or learned.

Should we raise the pealing anthem, from the rice swamp dank and lone,
With our choral notes ascending joins the slave's low, plaintive moan;
With each strain of gladness blending comes the mother's wail of wo,
Weeping in her hopeless anguish with a grief we ne'er may know.

We will raise no starry banner—tears of shame its brightness dims!
On its silken folds, blood-written, see the names of BURNS and SIMMS!
Did it wave above the 'Acorn' as the guardian of the sea?
When it floated o'er the 'Morris,' did it set the captive free?

And our Eagle, whose strong pinions might the tyrant's chains have riven,
And a home within his eyrie to the trembling bondman given—
Tamely to the spoiler bowing, like the basest bird of prey,
Saw unmoved the accursèd slave-ship, when it anchored in our bay.

In that bay whose dark blue waters lave the shore where Warren fell,
Where the grani tshaft is rising of the martyred dead to tell!
Was't for this the Pilgrim Fathers sought Columbia's distant shore?
Was't for this across th' Atlantic her brave band the Mayflower bore?

Oh, New England! thou art fallen! blighted is thy wreath of fame;
And our Bay-State, famed in history, hath dishonored her proud name;
And on this, our nation's birth-day, tears of shame our eyes should dim,
And a mournful dirge for Freedom chant in place of triumph-hymn!

Crushed Humanity lies bleeding, torn from Liberty's fair shrine,
And around her ruined altars Love's sweet flowers no longer twine;
Soft Compassion's tears are falling—Justice pleads, but pleads in vain;
Pity's voice in earnest accents blending with the sad refrain!

Shall we still, each plea unheeding, coldly turn from them aside,
Lifting not the arm of Manhood to roll back Oppression's tide?
Shall not memories of the 'old times' prompt to many a noble deed?
Shall we list the voice of Conscience, or the Statesman's subtle creed?

Is wealth, commerce, martial glory, to be weighed 'gainst Truth and Right?
Shall we barter in the market, for base gold, fair Freedom's light?
No!—her pure and glorious banner o'er our heads shall proudly wave,
And with earnest, manly effort, we will strive to free the slave.

Barre, Mass. CARRIE.

For the Liberator.

WHO IS MY BROTHER?

BY I. G. BLANCHARD.

Who is my brother? Is it he
Who holds the self-same creed with me,
And worships at the altar where
I deem it good to bow in prayer?

Is it the man within whose eyes
A kindred soul I recognize,
With whom the social hour is sweet,
Who smiles upon me when we meet?

Is't he whose wealth with mine compares?
Or who my social station shares?
Or whom the gifts of mind adorn,
With which I happened to be born?

Or he who had his birth among
Scenes where my cradle-hymn was sung?
Or he upon whose form and face
Are set the signals of my race?

My kinship is not so confined!
Thus said the Savior of mankind:
'Who doth my Father's will, the same
Shall bear to me a brother's name.'

My brethren dear are they who love
The truth that cometh from above:]
Who love the truth—whate'er its name,
Whate'er its form, whate'er its fame.

My brother may be poor and weak,
Wear Afric's sable on his cheek;
May be the proud man's mark of scorn,
Or may to servitude be born.

If he preserves a soul within,
Averse to every shape of sin—
That loathes hypocrisy and guile—
That will not wear a painted smile—

True to himself, and ever true
To God,—whatever man may do,—
Truth, morn and night, his only food,—
His greatest pleasure, to do good,—

O, let me love this man, and give
Him praise and honor while I live!
So poor, so low, he cannot stand,
But I'll be proud to grasp his hand.

THE LIBERATOR.

LETTER FROM JOSEPH BARKER. No. II.

BETLEY, Staffordshire, (Eng.) June 9th, 1854.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I will now, according to promise, tell you what the people of England, so far as I have been able to know, think about the war in which Europe is engaging.

And first, I was, on my arrival here, struck with the fact, that almost every one asked me what people in *America* thought of the war. All here seem anxious that the Americans should think them in the right, and should believe that they will prove victorious. If one says, 'Many of the Americans are in favor of Russia—the ruling party in America are in favor of Russia,' they are manifestly discouraged. If one says, 'The people of the free States are generally in favor of Turkey and her allies, and hope that Russia will get well beaten,' it cheers and comforts them. I never before saw so clearly how much one nation is influenced by the opinions and feelings of other nations, with regard to their doings; and I never felt how true it is that the reformers of one nation and government are the reformers of all nations and governments. Establish truth and righteousness, and make them popular in any mighty nation, and you strengthen truth and righteousness, and weaken falsehood and wrong, in every nation. You are perfectly right in asking for testimonies against slavery from the people of Europe. I see clearly, that when the people of Europe remain silent with respect to American slavery, they strengthen the slaveholders; and that when they speak out against it, they strengthen the friends of freedom. Humanity is one. Man sympathises with man the wide world through. The man who freely speaks the truth, and boldly denounces wrong, blesses his whole race. Truth and virtue work as irresistibly as electricity, and their power spreads every where, and lasts for ever.

The opinions of the people here with respect to the war are various. Some few think it a foolish undertaking, and foretell defeat. Many think the Russians will beat. They say they *are* beating already. They refer to the disaster at Sinope, the loss of the Tiger, the crossing of the Danube, the fall of Silistria, &c., as proof. They look for further Russian successes. They have no great hopes of the British soldiery or of the British generals. They look for more from the French soldiery than from the English. The manufacturers are beginning to be uneasy at the effect the war has had on trade. The work people are troubled at the high price of provisions. The middle classes do not like the doubling of the income tax. The farmers are pleased, for their produce is high. They make their fortunes in time of war.

On the whole, the war is popular. Many believe that Russia is the foe of civilization, and that it is necessary to keep her in bounds. They regard the government, the laws and the religion of England as perfection; and they cannot doubt that a war undertaken in their behalf must be successful. They think the English army the best and mightiest in the world, and they cannot think of its being beaten. If all the papers and telegraphs on earth were to say that the English forces had been defeated, they would not believe it. They would say there was some mistake. They can believe in nothing but English victories and Russian defeats. The capture of a few defenceless Russian trading vessels is a great thing in their eye; while the loss of the Tiger, the forced inactivity of the British fleet and army, go for nothing. These are the people who believe that England never was beaten; that even in the American war, the English forces were always victorious, though the Government, in the end, by some strange mistake, let the Americans have their own way. These people remind me strongly of the proud old Jews, who thought there was no nation that had such righteous laws, such excellent institutions, or that had God so nigh unto them, as they. 'There is no enchantment against Israel.'

It is amusing to hear some people talk about the war. 'I look at it as a holy war,' said a fat religionist, who smelled rather strong of alcohol. 'We must have no Bible, no religious liberty, if Russia is not driven back,' he added. Others, more enlightened, think the Governments of France and England should have reformed themselves a little, before undertaking so serious a war. They think the wrongs which the people suffer at home must always endanger the success of their armies abroad. They feel no interest in a war undertaken for the benefit of ruling families or ruling orders. They look to the people, and care only for their emancipation and welfare. They know that the present war has not been undertaken for the good of the masses, and they care not, therefore, for the result, except so far as the turn of events may favor the cause of the people. If the war should give the people of Europe a chance of freeing themselves, they would rejoice; if it should not, they will think of it with hate and bitterness. I go with this class myself. My sympathies are all with the masses. I care not a straw for emperors, kings or aristocrats. I think the *people* of Europe would be likelier to get their liberties, if Russia should conquer, than if England, France and Turkey should triumph. The people would never be so quiet under a new tyranny as they are under the old ones. The despotism of a Russian conqueror would awake and unite them, whereas now they are divided and half asleep. I therefore rather wish for the success of Russia. I certainly wish for the downfall of the English Aristocracy. I hate the English Aristocracy more heartily than I *can* hate any other tyranny, except the American slaveholding oligarchy. I hardly know whether I should make an exception at all. But I have never *felt* the weight of American tyranny as I have the weight of English tyranny. I may, therefore, be permitted to hate and loathe and curse the tyranny of the English Aristocrats as heartily, as fiercely, as any other; and to long as eagerly and anxiously for its overthrow. And whether permitted or not, I am likely always to do so. It may be a little madness I am subject to; no matter; there it is, and there it is likely to remain. Madness or not, it is of long standing; and, I believe, past cure. But I must not wander.

Well, you have seen, I suppose, the stir the PAPERS are making about the English soldiers' dress and arms. The people have just found out, that the soldier's dress, instead of serving as a protection, and helping the free action of his limbs, exposes him to the greatest danger, and almost disables him. Its colors are red and white, as if the object of his masters were to make it impossible for the enemy to miss seeing his mark. The belt and straps so compress his lungs, that he can hardly breathe; while his cumbrous knapsack and heavy arms are intolerable in long marches, or under a hot sun. The correspondent of the *Times*, who saw a regiment of ninety break up camp at Gallipoli for a march of only six miles, says that only forty were able to perform the march. Fifty out of the ninety broke down, and were left on the road, to finish their six miles' task when they could. Then their chief weapon is the old musket, which takes four times more lead and powder than it ought, and only hits once in eight times, instead of missing only once in eight times. Marching and fighting must be dreadful work for men thus armed and clad. It would be folly to expect troops thus armed and thus clad to do great things on the battle-field. The account given by the *Times* correspondent of the French forces is favorable. They appear to be armed and clothed as soldiers should be. Their provisions, too, seem to be better than those supplied to the English forces. I fancy, if much be done by the land forces in the war against Russia, it will have to be done by the French. The fleets are another power.

One thing is certain; the war is furnishing subjects for a great deal of talk. Every one has his plan for entrapping and destroying the Russians. Every one can tell you where the generals miss it. It is really ridiculous to hear the critics at work. I pity the poor creatures who must march and fight, and after all be censured by the men whose praises they were hoping to win.

The news from the seat of war is doubtful and contradictory, as usual, and very scanty as well. Events will not take place. Our fellow-passengers in the Arabia were all expecting startling news. 'Three weeks' papers will be due,' said they, 'and we are sure to hear of something decisive on reaching Liverpool.' But they were all disappointed. Nothing at all had happened of great moment. Three weeks more have passed now; still, nothing of importance has taken place. Many are getting out of patience. Russia, they say, ought to have been driven over the Danube, and forced back into their own country, before this. To make matters worse, several of the PAPERS are saying that the allied forces are not going to risk a general battle at all at present, but to wait till disease and disaster shall reduce and dishearten the Russian army, and make them an easy prey. They expected the war to be as exciting as a novel or a play, and they find it not even a tolerable tale. I have been, thus far, of the number of those who expect little; and I have had the happiness not to be greatly disappointed. Armies *cannot* kill each other by tens of thousands every day, for any great length of time. Those who cannot enjoy life without daily tidings of wholesale butcheries, had better bespeak new moral constitutions. The present war will try such people very severely.

Those, too, who had been expecting the war to begin and end in a single summer, seem likely to be greatly disappointed. Those people look very queer when I tell them that the war may last seven or fourteen years. When I ask them how many such wars have been got through in less than seven years, they are at a loss what to say. I confess, I shall not be astonished if the war should last my life, even though my life should be lengthened thirty years. It may *not* last so long; but it *may* last *longer*. Quarrels are very prolific; they breed fast. One war may beget a dozen; and each of the dozen may beget a number more. To me, it seems likely that the war will be more general and complicated five years hence than now. Never did the world seem more ready for a general quarrel. They are great sinners that can take up arms in the present state of the nations for any but the noblest objects, or under the stimulas of any thing short of necessity. But it is vain, perhaps, to speculate. My gloomy guesses may be as far from truth as some men's eager hopes. Perhaps we shall have no war at all. Perhaps the telegraph may bring us tidings of a reconciliation.

Well, war or no war, I will try so to spend my time, that I may be able to enjoy my life as it passes away, and to look back on it when gone with pleasure. My happiness shall not depend on newspaper stories or telegraphic despatches. I will treasure up a recollection of labors undertaken for the good of mankind. I will give myself to the illumination and improvement of my race. On my *farm*, I will plant the best trees I can find, and rear the best stock I can get; and in the *world*, I will sow the seeds of knowledge and virtue, of peace and blessedness. And these my labors, and the hopes that my labors shall be successful; and the philanthropic labors of my fellow-men, and the belief that they too shall be successful; and the company and conversation of the good and noble souls I meet with every where, and the signs I every where see that truth is spreading, that freedom is gaining ground, and that mankind are moving on a little in the way of virtue and happiness, shall be my comfort and my joy. I have a cheerful faith. I believe that progress is the destiny of man,—that peace, while it lasts, and war, when it comes, shall both help on his progress,—that every development of human character—those of Daniel Webster, Arnold Douglas, and Icy Everett, not excepted—shall aid the cause of humanity,—that there is a moral-chemical power in the words and deeds of such men as Garrison and Parker, in the words and deeds of all true-hearted reformers, that can turn even the dross of politics, the dregs of law, and the scum of senatorial and editorial eloquence to gold, and make even from priestly villany, popular superstition, and proud hypocrisy, a wholesome medicine for our suffering race. There is already more of good in man than many think,—more both of virtue and enjoyment,—and the good is growing faster than seems to be the case to many. Such, at least, is my belief. And this belief makes it both pleasanter to labor, and easier to wait for the good that is yet to come. And something tells me, that the power to wait, the power to keep ourselves from great alarms and devouring cares, from hopelessness and fears, is as needful as the will to labor and to suffer in the cause of man. It is well to be zealous, but not well to be in a hurry. It is well to be bold, but not well to be rash. It is well to be eager for the success of a generous undertaking, but not well to be anxious or fretful, if it seem to fail. The more patiently or calmly we labor, the longer we shall live to labor. The freer we can keep ourselves from anxiety and fear, the more wisely shall we be able to form our plans, and the more surely to gain our ends. I will fix no time, then, for the end of war or the death of slavery. Nor will I allow myself to say that war shall come to an end, or slavery die, in this or that particular way. I will only say, they *shall* die; and that every word of truth by good men spoken, and every generous deed by good men done, shall hasten their death. And I will speak true words, and do good deeds, as many as I can; and, taking my share of life's enjoyments, move cheerfully along, leaving the great powers of Truth and Love to work their happy wonders in the world in their own time, and after their own way.

The anti-slavery cause has made headway in England since we left. Almost every one who knows we are from America, talks about American slavery. All seem to have been hearing or reading on the subject. All speak of the guilt and inconsistency of America, and many speak with horror and amazement. I agree with them in all they can say against slavery and pro-slavery Americans; but I often feel it my duty to add a few words on English tyranny, and aristocratic selfishness and cruelty. With my own old readers and hearers, this is not needful. They are as well acquainted with the evils around them as with evils far away; and they are as zealous in the cause of reform at home as abroad. But with others, it is otherwise. Many that prate about American slavery are not aware that hundreds of thousands have been starved to death in their own country, by a selfish and heartless system, which they themselves have been blindly or wickedly supporting their whole life long. When I explain to them the tendency of English land laws, corn laws, bounty laws, and English systems of taxation, and show them how they have all been framed so as to enrich the hereditary aristocratic legislators, at the expense of the laboring millions,—when I show them that the aristocratic misrule which they have always supported against English reformers, has caused the death of millions by the slow and frightful tortures of want and famine, they stare at me in speechless amazement. For they cannot gainsay my statements. They may find it harder to speak against the cruelty of their landlords, than against the meanness and villany of American slaveholders; but they know what I tell them is the truth. I don't suppose you have any ground to fear that my course will lessen the number of English abolitionists. But, whether it does or not, I cannot change it. I can never cease to feel a peculiar interest in the class with which I so long and so grievously suffered. As my regard for the rights of oppressed Englishmen never prevented me from pleading the cause of oppressed Americans and Africans; so my regard for oppressed Americans and Africans can never prevent me from pleading the cause of oppressed and plundered Englishmen. I know it is so common in America for pro-slavery men to refer to the wrongs and sufferings of the working classes of Europe, as an excuse for screening from reprobation the accursed institution of American slavery, that both slaveholders and some abolitionists are prone to take it as a sign that a man is pro-slavery when he speaks of English institutions and English laws as I do. But they will learn, by and by, that a man may be true to humanity in one sphere, without being false to it in another, and that the real abolitionist is a friend of right and liberty for *all*, and a foe to oppression and wrong the whole world through. And, in truth, the most trustworthy abolitionists in England will be found amongst the most zealous reformers of home abuses. It may not be from such that you will get the most money, for most of them are poor; but you will get from them the heartiest sympathy. I suppose you are aware, that many of the abolitionists of England put creeds and churches, Bibles and rank first, and the rights and liberties of mankind second. They would not speak or labor for the freedom of the slave, at the risk of their churches or creeds, or their sacred books, or their rank in life. If they found that they must either give up their labors for the slave, or endanger the peace or unity of their church, shake the faith of men in the Bible, or lose their place in the church, or their standing in society, they would at once give up their labors for the slave. They work for no reforms at home but such as are popular. They set themselves against no abuses or iniquities that *are* popular. They persecute reformers that are as generously and wisely laboring for the oppressed in Europe, as you are for the oppressed in America. They would be as much ashamed to be found in company with a republican, or an opponent of the State priesthood, or an advocate of teetotalism, as Orville Dewey or Dr. Cox would to be seen assisting in a meeting of American abolitionists.

The clergy and churches of England did never set themselves earnestly against slavery in the West Indies, till the slaveholders there began to persecute their missionaries. So long as the English missionaries were allowed to preach to the slaves, and form them into churches, and save their souls, they allowed the slaveholders to go on in their calling without disturbance. It was when the slaveholders imprudently interfered with the missionaries, that the missionaries began to preach against slaveholding, and the churches and priesthood to petition for its abolition. It was then, as now, every thing must give way to the Church; the Church must give way to nothing.

If your slaveholding churches and priests in America were to begin to denounce the English churches and priests as heretics and infidels, the English churches and priests would at once raise the cry of kidnapper, man-stealer, woman-whipper, slave-breeder, against your American churches and clergy. But so long as they can agree on religious matters, and aid each other in church affairs, there is little ground to expect they will denounce each other's crimes and villanies.

Besides, the priests and religious people here are as much mixed up with the drinking system, and with all the abominations of the high and middle ranks, as the priests and professors of America are with the abominations of slavery. There are thousands upon thousands of leading Christians in Great Britain and Ireland, and not a few ministers of the Gospel, who make and sell intoxicating drinks, let their buildings for brothels or gambling-houses, deck out prostitutes, and receive payment from them, from the rewards of their iniquity, at the rate of a shilling, a crown, or a pound a week. I have known class-leaders hire houses, furnish them, put in prostitutes, clothe them, and set them up in business, and then live and support the church on the receipts. All do not commit themselves so far; but there are few who do not commit themselves to every popular or prevalent iniquity.

You cannot, therefore, calculate on the aid of such people, in your war against American slavery, except so far as the war is popular. And even then, they will not help such as *you*, when they find that your *way* of warring is unpopular. I am not about to try to cast up the amount of criminality chargeable on those people, nor am I about to give them any of my hard names. I content myself with saying how things stand with them, and what aid you are likely to get from them.

The abolitionists who used to be readers and hearers of mine, are mostly what are called heretics and infidels. Their theology is science; and their religion obedience to natural law. The churches and priesthoods will not work with them. The ladies' sewing circles will not admit them. If they work, they are obliged to work for the slave alone. They *do* work alone. They have sewing circles and lectures of their own. Some of them publish an anti-slavery periodical. Others raise contributions for your Boston Bazaar. But in some places they are too few and poor to organize for your help.

Then, again, your friends, when they have visited England, have seldom or ever got into their company. The rich and orthodox have monopolized your delegates, and kept the poorer and more reformatory abolitionists at a distance. They have, in consequence, been discouraged. They are very modest at all times; and when spurned, they withdraw altogether. I am not blaming your delegates. They could not do otherwise, as they were placed. Yet these poorer and more radical reformers are, in truth, the most to be relied on for labors and sacrifices in the cause of freedom.

But the religious and priestly abolitionists are doing good. They are so situated that they are obliged to do something against American slavery. And I rejoice in what they do. And the more they do, the more they will be led to do. If they should so offend their American slaveholding brethren and sisters in Jesus as to cause a dissolution of partnership, they will do much more.

But I must close. My wife and I are well. Our love to all our friends. Success to you in all your labors.

Yours, very affectionately,
JOSEPH BARKER.

FREE AND SLAVE PRODUCE.

SPRINGFIELD, June, 1854.

FRIEND GARRISON:

The following article is a copy of one that I sent, some six weeks since, for insertion in the Portland *Pleasure Boat*. As the editor of that pungent little sheet has taken no notice of it, not even acknowledging its receipt, though subsequently requested to do so, I suppose he has some reason satisfactory to himself for neglecting it.

If you think it pertinent to the subject of which it treats, and sufficiently subservient of the cause to which THE LIBERATOR is devoted, you can publish it; otherwise, let it share the fate of its original.

Yours, truly, E. W. TWING.

—

FRIEND HACKER:

You say that 'a subscriber thinks the partaker of stolen goods, knowing them to be stolen, is as guilty as the thief, and the purchaser of slave productions as guilty as the slave-owner who sells them;' and you add, 'Who will say that he is not correct?' Now, with your permission, I will pen a few thoughts for the consideration of the captain, crew and company of the *Pleasure Boat*.

It seems clear to my mind, that it depends wholly on circumstances whether or not guilt attaches to the partaker of stolen goods, even when the partaker knows them to have been stolen. If the goods are received with the intent to connive at the theft and encourage it, then it becomes guilt, but not otherwise. On the ground taken by your subscriber, which, moreover, you seem to endorse, it would follow, as a logical necessity, that every thing, the product of human effort, that was not sinlessly produced, would become contaminated, so that every partaker of such, knowing the facts, would be as guilty as the producer.

Now, there are numberless cases in which it would be impossible to return stolen property to the owner. Shall the stolen horse, whose owner cannot be reached, be turned loose into the highway, there to live a useless life, a public annoyance, or die of neglect and starvation? Shall every bushel of wheat or every barrel of flour, in the production of which either fraud or force has wronged honest labor of its just compensation, be left to rot in the warehouse, or be devoured by vermin, while hungry millions of useful domestic animals and human beings look on and starve? To ask such questions is to answer them in the negative. Unperverted nature and sound reason would seem to unite in saying, that whatever is good in itself, and can be obtained without intending to connive at or encourage the wrong known to have been committed in its production, may be used freely for the sustenance and comfort of man and beast, without the slightest taint of guilt. It seems to me that the contrary involves absurdities and impossibilities.

All our books, and every form of literary production, are either written or printed on cotton; and cotton is a staple product of slavery. Even the Portland *Pleasure Boat*, that floats its weekly freight to its delighted patrons, has more of cotton than any thing else in its tangible substance; nay, there is not probably a sheet of paper on the American continent that has not more or less of cotton in its composition. Now, shall we burn all our books, repudiate every paper and periodical, including the *Pleasure Boat*, and touch no more writing paper henceforth, until we find some into which we know cotton enters not? Well, when we have done all this, if I am right in the foregoing reasoning, (and if I am not, I wish to be corrected,) it will be seen that we have scarcely begun our work of fruitless impossibilities.

But I will not enlarge; my time and your space alike forbid. I will, however, add a word. If abstinence from things which have been produced wholly, or in part, by wrong-doing, was a feasible enterprise, and not liable to the objections above stated, still, it would be a sort of *stomach or pocket argument*, not very well calculated to affect favorably the wrong-doer, and seems much better adapted to the low grounds of the statesman and politician, than for the high moral elevation of the reformer and philanthropist.

COLORED PEOPLE OF BOSTON.

LYNN, June 25, 1854.

MR. GARRISON:

By the side of the developments of depravity in the late slave case at Boston, the conduct of the colored people of that city stands out in bold and gratifying contrast. Through that long week of agony, the vicinity of the slave pen was thronged by colored men and women, watching from dawn till eve, and some of them the long night through, patiently awaiting, amid the jeers and insults of pro-slavery Irishmen and pro-slavery Americans, the fate of their poor brother in bonds; seeking in every way in their power to show their sympathy for him, and hoping and praying, to the last moment, for his deliverance from the hand of the kidnapper. This was done, too, at a great pecuniary sacrifice, for the greater part of the colored people being debarred by prejudice from most of the chances of earning money, are, of course, poor.

I would commend as an example to some of the noisiest and loudest praying professors of the religion of Christ in Boston, the conduct of the colored man who met Burns on a wintry day in Washington street. This man was poor, out of employment, awaiting for days a job by which to earn a little money. He had every excuse to turn aside from the outcast fugitive, but he took him to his home, kept him there, went with him from place to place to obtain work, and when found, shared that employment with him. In his testimony, in answer to a question, he says he generally had 'one meal a day;' and this he shared with his outcast friend from slavery.

In some hastily-written lines in the last LIBERATOR, I alluded to this last fact; but somebody printed '*own*' for 'one,' and made nonsense of it. But the fact of this man's truly Christian conduct should be noticed; and when we hear any one decrying the colored race, let us ask him where, among the priests and churches of the negro-haters, a white Christian could be found who would thus fulfil the command of Christ, and thus befriend the friendless?

Yours truly, G. W. P.

A NEW ADVOCATE IN THE FIELD.

EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

DEAR SIR,—Last Sabbath evening, I had the pleasure (with many others,) of listening to a lecture on the subject of Temperance, from Miss Anna E. Ruggles, of Worcester, which, for richness of thought and thrilling pathos, I have seldom if ever seen or heard excelled. The large and somewhat spacious schoolroom in District No. 4 in this town (Holden) was well filled with attentive listeners, and many evidently came with an itching, prejudicial curiosity to hear a woman speak; and, judging from the effect produced, the wiping of falling tears, &c., they must have gone away satisfied, that while 'woman's heart is bleeding, woman's voice will *not* be hushed.'

Miss R. made a forcible allusion to the land of whips and chains, plainly showing that her heart beat right in that direction. Her discourse was well written, and spoken with a precision and eloquence that the 'stronger sex' might well envy. Indeed, I may truly say, 'Another LUCY STONE in the field.' I confidently hope her lecture will be published far and wide. She was asked to repeat it, or 'more of the same sort,' which she consented to do next Sabbath evening, in District No. 11 in this town. Heaven strengthen her heart and hand for the great work!

Yours, for truth and humanity,
Holden, June 26, 1854. L. BURNHAM.

INFORMATION WANTED.

STOUGHTON, May 28, 1854.

FRIEND GARRISON:

In rummaging over my old trumpery to-day, my attention was accidentally attracted by an old production, with a respectable number of signatures attached to it, having these words:—'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

Mr. Editor, permit me, through your columns, to ask the United States if they know what the document is—to ask the President of the United States if it is the record of power delegated to him to order the marines into the streets of Boston, in the free State of Massachusetts, to shoot the inhabitants of that city, at the very base of Bunker Hill Monument, because they refuse to deliver over a son to become a slave to a petty tyrant of a sister State;—to ask of Congress, Does it mean that the inhabitants of the Northern States shall be transformed into bloodhounds to catch the chattels belonging to the 'peculiar institution' of the South? I ask these questions in meekness to-day; but the day is at hand when they will be asked in peals of thunder by the North, and sent South on the wings of the hurricane, and the echo of response will be heard from the South in the shock of an earthquake. '76.

☞ Caleb Cushing's penny-hunting hand-organ, the Washington *Star*, characterized Judge Smith, of Wisconsin, as an 'abolition functionary,' because he decided that the Fugitive Slave Bill is unconstitutional. The Milwaukie *Democrat* replies—'The "abolition functionary" referred to is an Old Line Democrat, who was a Democrat when this renegade from all parties—Cushing—was a Whig, an Abolitionist, and a Tyler man.'

☞ Speaking of the proposition to send Frederick Douglass to Congress, the Providence *Journal* says, 'We send so many white slaves to Congress, that a free negro would be a novelty.'

MOTORPATHIC CARD.

DR. H. HALSTED, formerly of Halsted Hill, Rochester, N. Y., well known as the author of the system of Motorpathy, and by his great success in the cure of chronic and female diseases, has recently purchased and removed to the celebrated ROUND HILL WATER-CURE RETREAT, at Northampton, Mass., where, with improved facilities, he will continue the practice of his peculiar system, in connection with the Hydropathic Treatment.

Dr. H. was one of the earliest advocates, and has been and still is one of the most successful practitioners of the Water-Cure system. Nevertheless, in the treatment of Chronic Diseases, and especially those incident to Woman, experience has taught him that MOTORPATHY, combined with the Water-Cure Treatment, is in all cases much more effectual, and will restore many patients who are beyond the reach of Hydropathy alone. This has been made apparent in the cure of very many nervous and spinal affections heretofore unreached, and of Dyspepsia and Paralysis, and the numerous and complicated diseases of the liver and kidneys.

Dr. H. is confident in saying, that in many long standing diseases, Motorpathy is the only available remedy. More than seven thousand persons have been successfully treated in his former Institution; and, with the improved facilities of Round Hill, Dr. H. looks forward to increased success. Physicians are respectfully invited to call, and test for themselves the merit of the system.

As a summer retreat for the friends of patients or others seeking relaxation or pleasure, Round Hill stands alone and unrivalled. Its mountain air, limpid water and delightful scenery have given it a world-wide reputation.

His former Institution at Rochester is for sale. For work on Motorpathy can be obtained by remitting postage stamps.

Address H. HALSTED, M. D.,
Round Hill, Northampton, Mass.
April 28. 3m

WORCESTER
HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTION,

NO. 1 GLEN STREET.

THIS Institution is under the medical direction of Dr. SETH ROGERS, and is well arranged for treatment at all seasons.

TERMS.—Usually from $7 to $9 per week. For treatment without board, $3 to $4 per week.

Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.
April 14.

CAPE COD
WATER-CURE.

AN Establishment of this character is commencing at Harwich, under the direction of GILBERT SMITH, Proprietor, W. FELCH, Physician, and Miss ELLEN R. SMITH, Assistant.

Miss Smith is a young lady of medical education, and Dr. Felch has, for many years, been extensively known as a popular teacher of the whole Science of Man, and a successful Practitioner of the Natural Treatment of Disease, (the Hydropathic in concurrence with the Mesmeric.)

Several patients can board in Capt. Smith's family in a pleasant, rural, healthful location, within a mile of the sea shore on Vineyard Sound.

Terms, from $6 per week to $9. Address, Dr. W. FELCH, Harwich Port, Mass.

DR. NICHOLS'S NEW WORK ON MARRIAGE.

MARRIAGE: its History, Character, and Results; its Sanctities and its Profanities; its Science and its Facts. Demonstrating its influence, as a civilized institution, on the happiness of the Individual and the Progress of the Race. By T. L. Nichols, M. D., and Mrs. Mary S. Gove Nichols. Price $1. Just published and for sale by BELA MARSH, 15 Franklin st.
March 3. 3m

THE BIBLE DISCUSSION.

FOR sale at the Liberator Office, 21 Cornhill, and by Bela Marsh, 15 Franklin street, the 'Great Discussion on the Origin, Character and Tendency of the Bible, between Rev. J. F. Berg, D. D., of Philadelphia, and Joseph Barker, of Ohio, in January last. Price, 31 cts. single—$1.00 for 4 copies.

THE RELIGION OF MANHOOD: or, The Age of Thought. By Dr. J. H. Robinson. Price, 50 cts.

The Philosophy of Creation: unfolding the Laws of the Progressive Development of Nature, and embracing the Philosophy of Man, Spirit, and the Spirit World. By Thomas Paine, through the hand of Horace G. Wood, Medium. Price, 38 cents.

Free Thoughts concerning Religion: or, Nature versus Theology. By Andrew Jackson Davis. 15 cts. Just published and for sale by BELA MARSH, No. 15 Franklin street. April 14

WHITES'
DAGUERREOTYPE ROOMS,
No. 36 WASHINGTON ST.,
ESTABLISHED A. D. 1840,

STILL continue in successful operation; and having been recently refitted and improved by the addition of a large northern sky-light, (the only one of the kind in the city,) the proprietors feel confident that they can now offer inducements unsurpassed, if not unequalled, elsewhere.

No person is expected to take a likeness that is not perfectly satisfactory.

Remember the old place, ☞ 36 Washington street, near Cornhill.
May 26. 4m.

IMPROVED METHOD OF
Champooing and Hair-Dyeing.

MADAME CARTEAUX having established herself over the Comb, Toilet and Perfumery Store of A. S. Jordan, No. 191 Washington street, (entrance in Norfolk Avenue,) would avail herself of this medium for tendering thanks to the Ladies of Boston and vicinity for the liberal patronage awarded her, and would respectfully assure them that, by unremitting endeavors to please, she hopes for a continuance of their favors.

Her arrangements for cutting and dressng Ladies' and Children's Hair, for Dyeing and Champooing, are such as win the tribute of praise from all.

She has a Hair Restorative which cannot be excelled, as it produces new hair where baldness had taken place.

Her chemical researches have developed an inimitable Hair Dye, warranted not to smut, (a desideratum looked for. (Her *Ne Plus Ultra*, for renovating the complexion, removing freckles, &c., is fast commending itself to favor. For all her compounds and their application she warrants satisfaction, or demands no pay.

Ladies can be waited on at their own residences, or at her room, which will be open from 8, A. M., to 1, P. M. She has numerous recommendation from the fashionable circles of Boston, Providence, and elsewhere, which can be seen by those who desire.

Boston, May 13.

REV. THEODORE PARKER'S GREAT SERMON ON THE NEBRASKA QUESTION.

JUST published and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, and at the *Commonwealth* Office.

Also, for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 'An Address delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, Feb. 24, 1854, by William Lloyd Garrison.' Price, 6 cents, single—60 cents per dozen—$1 00 for 25 copies.
March 17.

VALUABLE PAMPHLET.

FOR sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, the 'Proceedings of the National Women's Rights Convention, held at Cleveland, Ohio, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, Oct. 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1853. Phonographically reported by T. C. Leland, of New York City.' It is a handsomely printed pamphlet, making 174 large octavo pages; and contains the speeches of Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Antoinette L. Brown, Ernestine L. Rose, Caroline M. Severance, Abby Kelley Foster, Emma R. Coe, Frances D. Gage, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Joseph Barker, Charles C. Burleigh, Stephen S. Foster, H. B. Blackwell, Pres. Mahan, Rev. Mr. Nevin, &c. &c.

PORTRAIT OF MR. GARRISON.

THOSE who would secure early and good impressions should engage them without delay. A few proof copies remain, at $1 25 each. The others are offered at $1.

Persons at a distance can have them safely enveloped and mailed for eight cents, *if pre-paid*.

Frames can be furnished to order, including oval and square. Gilt and dark wood at prices varying from $1 25 to $5 00, and upwards.

Apply to WM. C. NELL,
May 20. 21 Cornhill.

MARRIAGE AND PARENTAGE: or, the Reproductive Element in Man, as a means to his elevation and happiness. By Henry C. Wright. The Present is the Child of the Past, and the Parent of the Future. Price, 50 cents. Just published and for sale by BELA MARSH, No. 15 Franklin street.
April 14. 3mos.